THE MADRAS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE.

DECEMBER, 1894.

THE SERVICE OF GOD.

In all ages of the world's history man has been irresistibly led to believe that he is not an end in himself. On the one hand the consciousness of his own importance as the chief of visible things has not prevented him from feeling that sense of dependence which is of the essence of religion, nor, on the other hand, has the knowledge of his frailty concealed from him the fact that his nature has capacities for something higher than mere animal life. His importance and his insignificance have alike drawn him out of himself and have turned his thoughts Godwards. However much in practice men may have lived as if they had nothing to think of but themselves, their own interests, their own comforts, their own selfish desires, there has always been, deep down in their natures, the sense of service owing to an external Being greater than themselves. What, then, is the nature of this service, what are the motives that lead to it, and in what way is it manifested?

The service of God must consist in doing God's will. Manifestly, then, the service of man to God will be determined and conditioned by men's thoughts of God. The nature of the service that we render to any one must, if it is to be real service, depend largely upon who the person is to whom we wish to do the service. A man who wishes to serve his friends must consider the social position, the character, the circumstances of those whom he wishes to serve. It is the weakness of some people that they have only one way with everybody, and that they cannot distinguish the things that differ. They are like some primitive doctors who prescribe the same remedy and the same course of treatment for every complaint. To serve a man truly we must know him, and many a well-meant action has been misunderstood or has done positive harm

for want of this knowledge. Now in the same way the nature of the service men render to God will depend upon what their idea of God is, and upon their knowledge of Him. We may expect, then, to find that if men have low views of the nature of God they will have correspondingly low views of the nature of His service. A man may of course be worse or better than the religion he professes, but if religion is a living force, its ideals cannot fail to influence the lives of those who believe it. If, then, we find anywhere divine attributes ascribed to immoral, impure, dishonest, or cruel beings, it will not be surprising to find deeds done in the name of religion from which our better nature revolts. This does not prove that all religion is a mistake or that religious aspirations are a delusion; all it shows is that men may have wrong views of God. Fortunately it often works its own cure. Historically we find that the nobler minds among a people, by recognising the evils in the popular service, are sometimes led to the recognition of mistaken and low views of God. Thus in Greece and Rome the perception of the logical consequences of the teaching of the old mythology led some to try to explain away the old immoral stories, while others were led to look for a new and purer religion. Still, though individuals or even peoples may rise superior to the popular religion, it remains true that a man's service of God is always conditioned by his conception of the Supreme Being.

We thus see that in order to offer true service to God more is needed than a desire to serve Him. Right action springs from right thinking, and the knowledge of God's character must be obtained by us if we are really to do His will. How is this knowledge to be obtained? We become acquainted with a man by being brought into contact with him, by seeing his acts, by hearing his words, by reading his books. In what way can we acquire the knowledge of God we need if we are to do true service to Him? Now in three principal ways men are brought into contact with God's deeds and thoughts. We may see Him working in the physical universe, we may learn of Him from the constitution of human nature, and we can understand His character and His will for men by studying His dealings with the human race in history. From these sources our knowledge of God and of His will is derived.

External nature is perhaps the least important of the three. In recent times it has become fashionable to attempt to state spiritual truth in terms of biology and physics instead of in language which from our very familiarity with it has lost much of its meaning.

But nature reveals God chiefly to those who already know Him. We find the same characteristics everywhere in God's orderly universe, and the contemplation of the universe naturally turns men's thoughts to a great omnipotent, omniscient, infinite first cause of all things. But sometimes the Creator is hidden by the work of His hand, and it is when we have already learned something of God that we are able to read in nature the lessons He is teaching us, to appreciate His purpose for us, and to understand His methods of working.

When man turns inward he begins to learn more of God. The contemplation of the physical universe leads him to think of an Almighty and all-wise Creator and Ruler, but it tells him little more of the character of the being he adores, for the laws of nature are physical and mechanical. But when he looks within he discovers a new sphere of thought. He finds that there are certain things of which he approves and others of which he disapproves; he finds, in short, the existence of moral laws. However man may have attained to the idea of morality, morality is a fact and moral law is a reality, and the imperfect realisation of it by individuals or races does not disprove this. Man, therefore, is led, and led rightly, to ascribe to his Creator those qualities which he cannot but recognise to be the noblest in himself.

It is sometimes said that it is degrading to the Supreme Being to ascribe to Him the qualities of His creatures, and that we cannot know God as He is infinite. I confess I cannot see the force of such reasoning. True it is we cannot know God fully, because we are finite while He is infinite, but it does not follow that because our knowledge of something is necessarily incomplete we can have no knowledge of it at all. Just as a child, though it cannot fully know and appreciate its father's character and his plans and purposes of love for it, can yet understand something of them, so we too may grasp in part something of the divine nature; and so it appears to me that there is nothing degrading to the Divine Being in our ascribing to Him in infinite perfection the qualities we recognise as the highest in man, the chief of His creatures.

But we have a still surer knowledge of the character of God. We cannot know a man really well unless he reveals himself to us. An evening spent in confidential and open-hearted talk with a man we have met for the first time may make us know him better than we know those with whom we have lived for years, but into whose hearts we have never seen. His hopes, his fears, his aspirations,

his weaknesses, his ideals, are all laid bare, and we can interpret his conduct from our knowledge of his nature, while as to the others we can merely guess their character from their actions, but cannot be sure that our conclusions are correct. Now if the conception of God we have formed from the two sources mentioned is correct, if God is an infinite being possessing the highest moral qualities we are acquainted with, we should expect to find Him satisfying that longing for a knowledge of the divine which He has Himself implanted in us. The self-revelation of God to man is thus antecedently probable, and we believe that it has taken place. We believe that He has spoken to man as really as our friends speak to us, and that He speaks to us still; and that when we have higher aspirations, purer desires, and truer thoughts of God, these are due to God Himself working in our hearts.

For the record of this self-revelation of God we must turn to history, where, more clearly than in physical nature, and more surely than in individual human natures, we can learn the character of God and the nature of the service that we owe to Him. History shows us working in the lives of nations a power not themselves making for righteousness. It shows us that the government of the world is conducted on moral principles, and thus confirms our previous belief that the ruler of the world is a moral being. Nowhere do we find this so clearly illustrated as in the history of Israel. Wherever we find appearing true and lofty thoughts of God, hitherto unrecognised or unappreciated, there we see God revealing himself; and nowhere do we find this happening to the same extent as it happened among the small and seemingly insignificant people that lived in Palestine. Backward as they were in many respects, yet there arose among them a constant succession of men whose thoughts of God have appealed for centuries to the noblest minds of the most advanced nations of the world. To me it seems we can ascribe it only to the self-revelation of God that in that people, even amidst moral corruption and the ruin of national life, an ever increasing knowledge, a deeper and truer conception of the nature of God, grew up and prevailed.

This revelation of God culminated in the appearance of Jesus Christ, who occupies a unique place in history as being at once the revealer and the revelation of God. Paradoxical as it may seem, we believe that Christ is divine because in him we find the manifestation of the qualities we ascribe to God, and at the same time our conception of God is the one that Christ has given us. We

feel the truth of the thoughts about God that Christ has taught us as soon as he has revealed them to us, and at the same time we recognise the justice of his claim to divine authority when we find what we believe to be the divine nature manifested perfectly in him.

What, then, is the conception of God that we draw from this, the highest source—the conception that must determine the nature of our service? An old catechism that most children in Scotland used to learn gives in answer to the question, "What is God?" the following definition: "God is a spirit, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable, in His being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth." If we add "love," with all that that implies, to the list of attributes given there we obtain a very good idea of the Christian conception of God—a conception realised under human conditions in the person of Jesus Christ. God is infinitely wise, powerful, holy, just, good, true, and loving, and the service that will be acceptable in His sight is the service that can be rendered to a being such as He is.

The question at once arises, If God is infinite, what need has He of our service? All creation, it may be said, serves Him, for it must be doing the work for which it is appointed; and can man, who is only a part of nature, serve God in any other way than that in which trees and stones, rain and snow, birds and fishes may be said to serve Him? Now man differs from the rest of nature, though he is truly a part of nature, in that he is a conscious being. He is able to do and to refrain from doing. He is able consciously and voluntarily to do what he believes to be the service of God or to abstain from doing it. His service, therefore, is something more than the blind obedience of physical and mechanical laws, and it is with this conscious service that the question must deal. Now it is true in a certain sense that God does not need man's service, for He is independent of it, but in another sense He does need it. If we look at the conception of God that Christ gave to men we shall see at once in what sense this is true. Christ constantly represented God as our Father, and from this figure we may learn much. A human father does not in ordinary circumstances need his children's service. He is above them and is independent of them. Yet he feels he needs their love and esteem, and he will try to draw out and rejoices in the little deeds of loving service that they are able to offer him. In a similar way God needs us and our service. Infinitely great and glorious though He is He will not do without us, and He has even Himself come and suffered, to teach us

this and to enable us to do what is best for us. We can serve God, then, by doing His will, and He has not left us in doubt as to what His will for us is. It is that we should be like Him; and when we are growing more like Him in character, or are assisting others in their efforts after likeness to Him, we are serving Him.

It is not difficult to see from this what the motive is that must work in men if they are to do true service. There are three great motives that lead men to do service to others—love or devotion to an ideal, self-interest, and fear. There is no doubt as to which of these is universally regarded as the highest. Heroic deeds done for the love of individuals or for the love of country call forth praise even from those who are themselves incapable of such noble actions. Inspired by fear a man may do wonderful feats, but it is wonder and not admiration that his conduct produces. The cleverness of an astute merchant or lawyer, the genius of an ambitious statesman, or the skill of a victorious general may excite our admiration, but if we feel that no motive is present but that of self-interest, even deeds we admire fail to touch our hearts as do the unselfish love or devotion to duty of humble men and women. All these motives have influence in leading men to offer service to God. Reward and punishment play an important part in all human life, and it is not to be expected that they should be absent from the sphere of religion. When men realise the majesty and holiness of God they do well to have reverence and to fear to offend Him, and men's natures are such complex things that it is not unworthy to appeal to their desire for happiness in the hope of making them better. But if it is true, that even men think but lightly of actions inspired solely by motives of self-interest or fear, what can God think of service that is prompted by no higher motives than these? The highest motive to the service of God is love no less truly than it is the highest in the service of man.

Let us take, again, the conception of God as a father and look at the human analogy. A father who is determined to be obeyed will, if necessary, encourage his children by the hope of rewards for well-doing, and restrain them by threats of punishment for disobedience. But will he be satisfied if these are the only motives that prompt his children's conduct towards him? Will he not rather desire that his children should love him, and seek to show their love to him in a hundred little ways, uninfluenced by thoughts of punishment or reward? This is what God looks for from us. He does not wish the service of the slave cowering under his master's lash,

nor that of the cold-hearted servant who calculates on so much reward for so much service, and fears that he may be doing more than is absolutely necessary to procure the payment of his wages. He loves us, He has revealed His love in many ways, and especially in Jesus Christ, and He wishes to receive the willing service that a son offers to the father whom he loves. Perfect love, says the Apostle John, casteth out fear; and if we truly love God we shall no longer have a slavish dread of Him as a hard task-master, for we shall find pleasure in His service. But there will be no diminution of the holy reverence we should feel for our Creator and no desire to presume upon the knowledge that He loves us. Stimulated by the thought of His love we shall be anxious to know His will for us, and when we know it eager to do it; and if we are influenced by this motive even the commonest things may become the service of God, for every part of our duty is God's will for us.

This leads us naturally to consider the way in which the service of God is to be manifested. We are to serve God by the consecration of our whole lives to Him. We are to endeavour to look at things as God looks at them, and to act accordingly. We are to look upon duty as the voice of God, pointing out to us what we ought to do. The great error which men commit is that they set apart a little portion of their lives for what they regard as the service of God, and fancy that with the rest of them God has little or nothing to do. Certain duties are regarded by a man as religious and are perhaps scrupulously performed, while the most of his life is devoted to his own selfish ends. Our religious matters are delegated to a particular class, who are supposed to be able to do all that is necessary both for themselves and others. The true service of God is not easy, and this explains why in all ages, countries, and religions men have tried to narrow down its meaning and to restrict its extent. It is, for example, easier to perform certain ceremonies, to observe certain feasts and fasts, to offer certain prayers, than to lead the kind of life that God requires of His children, a life regulated by the desire to be like Him; and to such performances men consequently strive continually to narrow down the service of God. To this we must ascribe the constant tendency to divorce religion from morality, and to look upon religion as having no vital connection with conduct. A very slight acquaintance with the Old Testament shows us how strong this tendency was among the Israelites. The prophets were constantly pointing out to the people that their feasts and fasts, their prayers and

their sacrifices, were only a solemn farce, and an insult to Jehovah so long as these religious exercises did not influence them to obey their God and to make them love mercy and justice. It was against the same delusion that so much of Christ's most impressive teaching was directed. What, he asked, is the good of your careful washing of cups and vessels, of your scrupulous keeping of the Sabbath and other feast days, of your fastings and your alms-givings and your prayers, if all the time you are unholy and care nothing for the weightier teachings of the moral law? And in spite of Christ's teaching the same spirit has shown itself again and again in the Church he founded, and outward observances, excellent enough in themselves and in their own place, have been exalted into the place of the true service of God. But religion, the true service of God, is not an external thing that a man can put on as he does a garment, it is a habit of life springing from a right relation to God and showing itself in the whole of a man's life. We may tie beautiful flowers and fruit on to the branches of a poison-bearing tree, but we do not change its nature. Only if the tree be good, will the fruit be good also.

A distinction is sometimes drawn by those who are opposed to religious ideas, between the service of God and the service of man, as if there were some conflict between the two. This is in many cases caused by a misconception of the way in which the service of God is to be manifested. Christ said that he came as a minister, as a servant of man, and those who follow him must be like him in this. It is in the service of man that our service of God will be chiefly offered. It is no doubt true that in the service of God we may be led to do many things that are displeasing to some men. So long as there is evil in the world it must be resisted by us, however much it may be supported by others. But when we consider what we have seen to be the character of God, and when we reflect that our service consists in our being and acting like Him and in endeavouring to lead others to be like Him, is it not plain that it is impos sible that there can be any higher service of man than this? If we are serving God we shall be on the side of everything that conduces to man's physical, mental, moral, and spiritual well-being. It is the imperfections of our service that too often lead men to have wrong views of the service of God. It is because we are apt to put forward our own selfish desires and ambitions, or our personal inclinations or fancies as the will of God, and to dignify them with a title to which they have no real

claim, that men are sometimes inclined to think that the service of God and the service of man are conflicting interests.

Another thing that often perplexes men is the fact that the lives of some who make much profession of religion are worse than or at least no better than the lives of some who make no such pretension. Some who claim to have the motive to service do not show it working in their lives, while some who do not claim to have the motive appear to produce the desired results. Now the fact that a man does not live up to his ideal does not disprove the existence of his ideal. Unless a man's evil conduct is a consequence of his religious faith we must not blame his religion for his evil deeds. The other side of the difficulty is not so easily answered. It is often raised in the form, Does it matter what a man believes? Is not the important thing rather what a man does? The truth is, both are important, for the important thing is—what a man is. We are rational beings, and as such we are influenced by what we believe, and our conduct must be affected by what are not merely intellectual beliefs but are the ideas that help to mould our characters. I do not deny that, to quote the words of Dr. Candlish, a well-known theologian of our Church, men "are really living to God though they know it not, if they are indeed living for that moral goodness which is the essential character of God;" but I also believe, to quote again the same writer, that "it is hard to attain to a real love of moral goodness in all its extent, except through the revelation of the character of God in Jesus Christ."

The service of God is that to which we are all called, for religion is not a delusion. In times of intellectual ferment and revolt, it has not been uncommon to find men, filled with a sense of the greatness of man, bold enough to assert that it is. This is not surprising, for action leads to reaction no less truly in the moral and intellectual than in the physical sphere. Naturally, then, we find that the rebound from superstition drives men into scepticism, just as we find that new superstitions come into existence in the most sceptical times. A narrow view of the service of God leads to a disbelief in God and to panegyrics in honour of "man the master of things." Such phenomena are but transient, however; they have been and they will be again, but religion lasts. Man must have religion. His nature craves it as truly as his body demands meat and drink. In the past it has been the greatest power in history, and it is impossible to conceive of man without it. Great as have been the evils caused by men's defective know-

ledge of God and their erroneous views of what His service consists in, it has yet been by religious ideas that the world has been moved onwards and upwards. Let us find a time when religion has ceased to influence society and when the fashionable creed has been, Let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die—let us find a society in which the ideas of God and His service have died out, and we shall find a period of moral corruption, a society rotten to the core. It may be possible at present to point to individuals who though avowedly irreligious are yet nobler and better than many who make religious professions. This I do not deny. But let there be a general disbelief in God and religion, and such individuals will be hard to find. Once persuade men generally that they are ends in themselves and that there is no higher sanction than their own desires, and you will find it difficult to preserve much of the service of man. It is man's selfishness that is the chief opponent of faith in God, and too often it is the moral revolt that leads to the intellectual, and men say that there is no God because in their hearts they hope there may be none to judge them.

The service of God is not easy, for God's will is often opposed to ours. But if it is hard to do God's will it is harder in one sense not to do it, for by refusing to do it and by taking our own way we ruin our characters and our lives. And though it is hard to do God's will, it is not so hard if we have the right motive, if the consciousness of God's love towards us draws out our love towards Him. What manner of persons are we becoming ? Are we growing more like our Father in heaven as the days go by, or is the divine image in us becoming daily more obscured as our aspirations after good die out ? Christ claimed to be able to restore that image and to give us the power we need. To many he has given it, and the experience of those who through him are doing God's service may become the experience of all who are willing to give up their own wills and to follow him.

E. Monteith Macphail.

THE LAST YEARS OF AN EMPIRE:—II.

Bahadur Shah died near Lahore in his seventieth year. (18th Feb. 1711.) His four sons were Jehander Shah the eldest, Jehan Shah, Raffiu-sh-Shah and Azimu-sh-Shah. All four resolved to try for the throne, and the youngest, Azimu-sh-Shah, had apparently the best chance of succeeding. Each of the Princes had his own camp and following, but Azimu-sh-Shah was in possession of his father's camp and treasure, and had therefore the proverbial nine points of the law in his favour. He at once caused himself to be proclaimed, upon which the other three brothers combined and agreed to sink their own rivalry in order to crush the pretensions of the youngest. The young Prince commenced badly by offending the powerful Zulficcar* Khan. This general, who had for so long been accustomed to a prominent place in the affairs of the Empire, and who with some justice regarded himself as a maker of emperors, sent a message to Azimu-sh-Shah asking how he could be of service to him. The answer to this overture was couched in so supercilious a tone that Zulficcar Khan withdrew in disgust and embraced the cause of the eldest brother Jehander Shah.†

Instead of at once attacking his brothers, Azimu-sh-Shah made another mistake in entrenching himself in his camp. He may perhaps have thought that if he waited his time, and kept hold of the treasure, his brothers would gradually be deserted by their followers, so that they would eventually have to submit. The reverse, however, actually happened. Zulficcar Khan threw himself into the cause of the three Princes, and with his usual energy drew all the artillery from the city of Lahore, beneath the walls of which

---

* Last month this name was inadvertently printed Hulficcar.

† Eradat Khan thus relates the incident, which is of interest as throwing some light upon the rules of oriental etiquette, any breach of which is calculated to cause bitter offence: "The Ameer-ul-Amra now desired me to send my grandson to Azimu-sh-Shah to ask him how he could serve him on the present occasion. I sent him but he returned with a reply, laconic and slight, as if from a nobleman of high rank to the commander of a hundred. 'As the Imperial servants can know no place of support but this court, and most have already repaired to it, the Ameer-ul-Amra may also pay his duty, with assurance of a gracious reception in the Presence.' When the Ameer-ul-Amra read this, he shed tears, and said to me with some emotion: 'You see the manners of the Prince and his advisers! Whatever is the will of God must take place. Alas! the errors of a favourite, unacquainted with government often endanger the very existence of his master. When fortune frowns on any one, he is sure to do that which he should not.' After saying this he left and went to Prince Moiz-ud-Din (Jehander Shah)."

they were encamped. The truth of the proverb, *l'audace, l'audace et toujours l'audace,* especially as regards oriental warfare, was illustrated on this occasion. Azimu-sh-Shah's hesitation was attributed to fear, and instead of his brothers being deserted by their followers, fresh levies were attracted, and many even deserted from Azimu-sh-Shah, who unwisely at such a time showed no disposition to spend any of his treasure. By shutting himself up in entrenchments Azimu-sh-Shah gave Zulficcar Khan an opportunity which this veteran soldier was not likely to let slip. Though his inferior numbers prevented him from meeting Azimu-sh-Shah in the field he was much stronger in artillery, and accordingly commenced an active cannonade from which the Prince's army, shut up in the entrenchments, suffered severely. After allowing himself to be fired at for five days, a proceeding which served to dispirit his army still more, the misguided Prince issued forth to attack the combined Princes. At the first meeting with Jehan Shah his followers fled. Azimu-sh-Shah and his son Mahomed Kurreem were left almost alone, and the Prince, disdaining to fly, was shot as he was fighting from the back of his elephant.* His son managed to mount a horse and escape, but he was captured a few days afterwards and cruelly put to death. There remained therefore the three Princes, Jehander, Jehan, and Raffiu-sh-Shah. According to their compact the treasure was to be divided equally between them; and Jehan Shah, who appears to have been a loyal and generous prince, at once placed a guard over the treasure, prevented his followers from pillaging the camp, and sent the whole of the ready cash to Zulficcar Khan for division. This was what this wily old intriguer wanted. He had determined to support Jehander Shah, who was a foolish and dissipated man, as being the one over whom he was likely to exercise the greatest influence. With this object in view he delayed a division of the treasure, since he knew that the troops of Jehan and Raffiu-sh-Shah were clamouring for pay and were therefore likely to create trouble. He played with each Prince in turn, visiting first one and then the other, promising with fair words, but always putting off a settlement. Jehan Shah was advised by his friends to seize the traitor at his next visit and put him to death, but this he refused to do, and, when he

---

* This is Eradat Khan's story, and, as he was an eye-witness of the battle, it is probably true. Khafi Khan, on the other hand, says that Azimu-sh-Shah 'disappeared', and was supposed either to have been drowned or assassinated.

came, contented himself with reproaching him for his duplicity, adding: "Even now, perhaps, thy family is dreading that I may put thee to death, which, however politic, I scorn to do by fraud. Rise, then, and go in peace to thine own house." We are told that "the Ameer-ul-Amra departed with a speed and precipitation which declared his guilt." This magnanimity was however thrown away, and Zulficcar Khan openly put aside all disguise and announced his intention of ruining Jehan Shah. Raffiu-sh-Shah in the meantime remained quiet. He had on former occasions greatly befriended Zulficcar Khan, and thought him bound to him by ties of gratitude. He therefore counted on his support, and leaving his two elder brothers to settle their own quarrel, reserved himself to fight the conqueror. Jehan Shah, seeing that nothing was to be gained by delay, resolved to attack Zulficcar Khan, but the night before he could carry out his intention a fire broke out in his camp which destroyed the whole of his ammunition. Some fresh supplies were obtained, but they were utterly insufficient, and many of his followers began to desert. Jehan now determined to stake all on a sudden attack. He made a furious onslaught on Jehander's camp, and nearly surprised his brother in his tent. Zulficcar Khan, however, was ready with his whole force drawn up. Jehan Shah was surrounded, his followers fled, and he was struck by a musket ball. His son, Ferkhander Akhter, who fought by his side, descended from the elephant and defended his father with his sword, until he also fell covered with wounds. During this skirmish Raffiu-sh-Shah had drawn off his forces, and remained a passive spectator. When it was over he advanced with the intention of engaging Jehander Shah, firmly believing that Zulficcar Khan would come over to his side. He was, however, advised to wait until the following day, when if he attempted a surprise there was a better chance of success. This he did, and early in the morning an attack was made on Jehander's camp. But owing to the treachery or rashness of the attacking force a premature cannon shot gave the alarm, and they found a strong force drawn up and commanded by their supposed ally Zulficcar Khan. The unhappy prince thus disappointed and betrayed resolved to sell his life as dearly as possible. As usual he was forsaken by his soldiers, but, descending from his elephant, he "drew the sabre of glory from the scabbard of honour and fought singly on foot against thousands of assailants." He, too, soon fell covered with wounds, and Jehander Shah, left without a rival, was proclaimed Emperor and sounded the march of victory.

Dreadful as were these fratricidal quarrels, it is impossible to deny to the sons and grandsons of Aurungzebe the one virtue of courage. The word 'fear' seems to have been unknown to them, and they were always ready to expose their persons without scruple. They fought with the courage of despair, and though they were void of the ordinary natural feelings of family affection, ambitious, false, and revengeful, they were undoubtedly brave. This was apparently their one virtue

"linked to a thousand crimes."

Zulficcar Khan had been the moving spirit in this intrigue, and he was the principal person to profit by it. Jehander Shah was a man of weak mind and of low and dissipated tastes. He cared nothing for the duties of government, and left the whole power in the hands of his minister. During his short reign of nine months the Emperor set all public opinion at defiance. He went about publicly with a common courtesan as his companion, and, not content with holding drunken orgies in the palace, he went with her to the bazaar and frequented the lowest houses. On one occasion he went with his mistress and a herb-woman named Zohera to the house of a common prostitute, where they remained drinking until late in the night. "After rewarding the woman with a large sum and the grant of a village, they returned in a drunken plight to the palace, and all three fell asleep on the road. On their arrival Lall Koor (the mistress) was taken out by her women, but the Emperor remained sleeping in the chariot, and the driver, who had shared in the jollity of his royal master, without examining the conveyance, drove it to the stables. The officers of the palace after waiting till near morning for his arrival, on finding that the mistress had entered her apartments without the Emperor, were alarmed for his safety, and sent to her to enquire concerning his situation. She desired them to immediately examine the coach, where they found the wretched prince fast asleep in the arms of Zohera, at a distance of nearly two miles from the palace. After this he still more exposed his vices to the public; often he passed through the streets, seizing the wives and daughters of the lower tradesmen. Once a week, according to the vulgar superstition, he bathed with Lall Koor concealed only by a single cloth in the fountain of the Lamp of Delhi (a celebrated saint) in hopes that this ceremony would promote pregnancy."* On another occasion

* Eradat Khan, *Memoirs of the Mogul Empire*, Scott's Translation.

the same woman Zohera met Chin Kulich Khan, who was living in Delhi in strict retirement, in the streets. Finding that the Khan's palankeen did not get out of the way soon enough, Zohera's attendants began to insult him, and she herself called out to him from the top of her elephant, "Are you the son of a blind man?" This wanton insult led to an affray in which Zohera got roughly treated by the Khan's followers. Zohera complained to her mistress and she in turn to the Emperor, who ordered Zulficcar Khan to punish the nobleman. This however he did not dare to do, and Chin Kulich Khan, disgusted at the profligacy of the Court, kept himself in even stricter retirement, awaiting the opportunity which was not far off. Zulficcar Khan was at this time not only Minister but also Viceroy of the Deccan, and made use of his position to enrich himself and his near relatives. On all sides there was nothing but injustice and oppression. "He studied to ruin the most ancient families, inventing pretences to put them to death, that he might plunder their possessions. Unhappy was the person he suspected to be rich, as wealth and vexatious accusations always accompanied each other. He took enormous emoluments and revenues for himself, while he disposed of money to others with a hand so sparing that even his own creatures felt severe poverty with empty titles, for he never allowed *jaghirs* to any. The minds of high and low, rich and poor, near or distant, friends or strangers, were turned against him, and wished his destruction. Hindus and Mussulmans agreed in praying to Heaven for the fall of his power, night and day. Often does the midnight sigh of the widow ruin the riches of a hundred years."*

In the meantime in the Deccan everything was playing into the hands of the Mahrattas. Having nothing to fear from a debauched Emperor, they extended their conquest on every side. Where they could not actually annex territory they levied their black-mail of one quarter of the revenue, and the Mahomedan deputies, too weak to oppose their exactions, were content to purchase immunity by allowing them to collect their *chouth*. The actual administration of the Mahratta Empire was conducted by the Peishwa at Poona, and gradually the Rajah at Sattara became a mere puppet in his hands. The great feature of the Mahratta armies was their cavalry, for which they were in a considerable measure indebted to Aurungzebe. This Prince had during the last twenty years of his life

* Eradat Khan, Scott's Translation.

devoted much attention to the improvement of the breed of horses in the Deccan. He imported a vast number of Arab sires from the north and distributed them amongst the villages. When he died, and the Imperial army left the Deccan, these horses fell into the hands of the Mahrattas, who were not slow to use them for military purposes, until the Deccannee mare or stallion became famous throughout India.*

Whilst everything at Delhi was in confusion, an avenger was rapidly preparing an army in the distant province of Bengal. Azimu-sh-Shah, the first of the four sons of the late Emperor who fell in the struggle at Lahore, had left a son named Ferokshere who was Governor of Eastern Bengal. His principal supporters were two brothers, descendants of the well-known Seyds of Barha, a race celebrated for its bravery. These two men, Seyd Abdullah and Hussein Ali, had already distinguished themselves in the engagement between Azim Shah and Bahadur Shah after the death of Aurungzebe. On this occasion they had fought on Azim Shah's side, and when Bahadur Shah proved victorious they withdrew to Bengal. Here they attached themselves to the service of the young prince Ferokshere, and received, the one the Government of Allahabad, and the other that of Behar. When Ferokshere commenced his march on Delhi he was at once joined by Seyd Hussein Ali with a large force from Behar. It was hoped at Delhi that the other brother at Allahabad would remain loyal, and flattering letters full of promises were sent to him, but in vain. Seyd Abdullah, disgusted at the profligacy of the Court and the despotism of Zulficcar Khan, only waited for the Prince's approach to hand over to him the fort and to join him with the whole of his force. This accession raised the number of Ferokshere's army to about 70,000 horse and foot, and without waiting for further additions he commenced the march from Allahabad on Delhi. Thirty miles

---

* There can be no doubt that the Deccan plains, with their vast stretches of waste land, are eminently suited for horse-breeding purposes. Of late years considerable attention has been bestowed on the revival of horse-breeding in the Nizam's Dominions, and annually from 1,200 to 1,500 young colts, by thoroughbred Arabs out of country mares, are brought to the great horse fair at Mallagaom in the Bieder district. In course of time the new Deccannee breed bids fair to rival if not surpass the historical Deccan cavalry of the last century. It is only just, in reference to this, to mention the name of Mr. Ali Abdoolla, the well-known sportsman, who for about ten years has been at the head of the Hyderabad Government Stud. The headquarters and principal breeding farm are at Singareddy, about 30 miles from Hyderabad.

to the east of Agra the Prince met the force which had been sent to oppose him. This was commanded by Aiz-ud-Din, a son of the Emperor, and consisted only of six thousand veteran troops, a fine park of artillery, and a large rabble of Jâts and Rajputs. A slight skirmish followed, which, though unattended with any important results, was sufficient to terrify the Imperial general, who, taking with him the heir-apparent, fled to Agra. Of the army he left behind him a large number went over to Ferokshere and the remainder dispersed. Ferokshere remained encamped upon the field of battle, and instead of marching upon Agra in pursuit, awaited there the return of the Imperial army. The Emperor finding that Ferokshere did not advance, and attributing his delay to fear, left Delhi, and marched to Agra. Here he was joined by the rest of his army which now numbered "seventy thousand horse, and foot without number." The two armies were separated by the river Jumna, and for the space of a week their time was occupied in marching and counter-marching on either bank, endeavouring to gain a ford. This the two Seyds first succeeded in doing, and although the Emperor with an advance guard came up to them before the whole army had succeeded in crossing, he did not venture to attack them. Next day a general engagement took place, and the following is the description given by Eradat Khan, who was an eye-witness, and who was engaged on the Emperor's side. "After a cannonade of some time I saw two bodies from the enemy's line charge ours, one with a red and the other with a green standard. The former was the corps of Rajah Judboolla Ram and the latter of Seyd Hussein Ali Khan. Observing that our right flank was much exposed, I remarked it to Zulficcar Khan, who immediately ordered Abdul Summad Khan to move with the mistress's troops to that quarter. The first body of the troops charged, and the second, pushing through the line of our artillery, which was deserted as it approached, attacked the centre in which was Jehander Shah. Our troops fell back upon the camp and great confusion took place." This charge practically decided the fate of the Emperor. Although Seyd Hussein Ali had fallen desperately wounded, the Imperial troops never attempted to rally. They did not even wait to be attacked, but broke their line and scattered in every direction, leaving the women, the jewel office, and the treasury to shift for themselves. Zulficcar Khan with a few veterans still held out, hoping that the presence of the Emperor might have the effect of rallying the troops. This probably would have been the case even

at this late hour, for the enemy, finding that Seyd Hussein Ali had been carried off wounded, had halted in hesitation. A bold charge might then have saved the day, but Jehander Shah was not made of the same stuff as the rest of his family, and had not the courage to risk his person to save his throne. He had already mounted a fast elephant and was on his way to Delhi. Zulficcar Khan held out till dark, and then, seeing that further resistance was hopeless, followed his master and reached Delhi shortly after him.

The Governor at Delhi was Assud-ud-Dowlah, father of Zulficcar Khan, and to him the Emperor appealed for protection. Jehander Shah's personal vices, however, had long since forfeited the loyalty and affection which were his due. His army was defeated and scattered, and his nobles were therefore no longer in fear of his power. Assud-ud-Dowlah at once placed him in confinement, and, anxious only to save himself and, if possible, his son, sent word to Ferokshere that he held the ex-Emperor at his disposal. In the meantime Ferokshere had caused himself to be publicly proclaimed, and was joined by many of the chief generals of his defeated rival. Amongst these was Chin Kulich Khan, who, as we have already seen, had just cause for resentment against Jehander Shah; and who, there can be no doubt, had entered into a private arrangement with the Seyds to hold aloof. He was welcomed by Ferokshere, and was rewarded with a *munsab* of 7,000 horse and the appointment of Subadar of the Deccan with the title of Asaf Jah, NIZAM-UL-MULK, by which name he will be designated in future. Naturally the principal rewards fell to the share of the two Seyds, to whom Ferokshere's victory was entirely due. The elder brother Seyd Abdullah was appointed Vizier, with the title of Kutb-ul-Mulk, and a *munsab* of 7,000, whilst the younger, Hussein Ali, was created Ameer-ul-Amra, with a similar *munsab*.

Ferokshere received the message of Assud-ud-Dowlah with an appearance of satisfaction, and returned a gracious reply, telling him that his services would be rewarded by a confirmation in his office of Vizier and Governor of Delhi, and ordering him to keep Jehander Shah in close confinement. This message raised the spirits of Assud-ud-Dowlah and his son Zulficcar Khan, and instead of attempting to seek safety by flight they remained in Delhi, kept everything quiet, and awaited the arrival of Ferokshere.

When the new Emperor had arrived within a few marches of Delhi he sent word to Assud-ud-Dowlah to join him in his camp, and bring with him Zulficcar Khan. This order was at once obeyed

with a feeling of mingled hope and fear. The father, who was advanced in years, was graciously received, and presented with jewels and robes, and the Emperor then told him to return home and leave behind him his son Zulficcar Khan, as the Emperor wished to transact some business with him. The father, says Khafi Khan, saw that his son was doomed, and with a swelling heart and tearful eyes he repaired to his tent. Eradat Khan gives a more detailed account of the tragedy that followed. Zulficcar Khan was first of all kept waiting in one of the apartments of the Imperial tent. A dinner was then brought to him, but it being against the court etiquette for a subject to eat in the Emperor's tent, he was asked to adjourn to a square of screens. Arrived here the door was at once shut upon him, and after he had been kept for some time in suspense, Abdullah Khan, the superintendent of the household, of whom we shall hear more hereafter under the name of Mir Jumla, came to him with certain questions he was desired to answer. He was asked to explain why at the siege of Gingee he had put the Emperor's uncle Kaum Buksh into confinement. The reply was: "I confined the prince by order of Aurungzebe, his sovereign and mine. Had he commanded me to imprison my own father, I should have at once complied." He was then asked why in the battle between Azim Shah and Bahadur Shah he had deserted the former and sought safety in flight. The reply was: "While Azim Shah was alive I kept the field, but when he was dead I dared not oppose a prince of the blood without a rival of equal dignity at the head of our army." The next question was: "What were the circumstances of your conduct to the martyred prince, His Majesty's father, Azimu-sh-Shah?" Zulficcar Khan replied: "He behaved inattentively to me, and I then attached myself to his brother; but in this did no more than other nobles, who each embraced the cause of the prince he loved best, and from whom he received the greatest favours." Then followed the last question, which, however, was unanswerable, "Why was his majesty's brother inhumanly murdered in cold blood, many days after the battle, when other princes were allowed to live?" The fallen general now saw that no submission or entreaty would spare his life, and so he angrily exclaimed, "If I am to die, kill me instantly, nor vex me longer with vain interrogation." Thereupon Lachin Beg, a person who earned an unenviable notoriety in reference to executions, and other followers rushed in and strangled Zulficcar Khan with a bowstring, afterwards plunging their daggers into his body. The

body was drawn outside the camp with ropes, and allowed to lie as an example of fallen greatness. His estates, and those of his father, were confiscated, but his father was allowed to go into retirement, where soon afterwards he died, not without suspicion of poison.

At the same time an order was sent to despatch the ex-Emperor, Jehander Shah, and as Ferokshere made his triumphal entry into Delhi, the head of his uncle was carried round the city on a spear whilst the body was placed on an elephant, from which also was hung the corpse of Zulficcar Khan, head downwards. Some days were then occupied with other executions, and for some time there was in Delhi a reign of terror. Lachin Beg, who was a prominent performer in these murders, received the nickname of *Pasma Kash* (thong-puller). Khafi Khan says: "As men were subjected to this punishment of the bow-string without ascertainment or proof of offence, such a terror of it seized the hearts of the nobles of the reign of Aurungzebe and Bahadur Shah that when anyone left his home to attend upon the Emperor, he took farewell of his sons and family....Hakim Salim had been one of the personal attendants upon Azimu-sh-Shah, and it was said that the Prince was killed at his suggestion. Mir Jumla invited the Hakim to his house, and treated him sumptuously at night, but before morning men were sent to his door and they strangled him." This Mir Jumla was a great favourite of the new Emperor, Ferokshere. His name was originally Abdullah Khan, and he had been given this title when his master gained the throne. It was he who had put the questions to Zulficcar Khan before having him killed, and he appears to have been the Emperor's confidential agent in contradistinction to the two Seyds, to whom the affairs of the State were entrusted. As might be expected, before long this dual power led to considerable friction, and the constant endeavour of the Seyds was to remove Mir Jumla from his post near the Emperor's ear. Kulich Khan, or rather Asaf Jah, Nizam-ul-Mulk, with the caution which characterized all his actions, withdrew from this scene of bloodshed and intrigue, and, making Aurungabad his headquarters, did his best to bring the Deccan into order and repose.

The Emperor Ferokshere was a man of low mind and manners, but was at the same time extravagant in his profusion and display, and so succeeded in gaining a certain popularity amongst the vulgar. He was imbued with a strong jealousy of the two Seyds, which however he dared not openly show because of their power and of the obligations he was under to them for their assistance in

raising him to the throne. This jealousy was secretly fostered by Mir Jumla, who, having quickly squandered the accumulated wealth of Zulficcar Khan, was meditating the downfall of the Seyds. Seyd Abdullah, to whom were entrusted the duties of Vizier, was much addicted to the pleasures of the zenana, and left most of his business to his dewan, named Ruttun Chund, who took advantage of the trust confided in him to levy exactions from all who were brought into contact with him. The more active and talented of the two brothers was Seyd Hussein Ali, who was Ameer-ul-Amra, or Commander-in-Chief. With the object of separating Hussein Ali from his brother, Mir Jumla persuaded the Emperor to despatch him against Ajeet Singh, Rajah of Marwar, who had been in a state of rebellion since the death of Aurungzebe. Ajeet Singh submitted very quickly, and, agreeing to give a daughter to the Emperor in marriage, received more lenient terms than he was entitled to, for Hussein Ali was anxious to return to Delhi, where the hostility between his brother the Vizier and Mir Jumla had broken into open flame. The cause of this rupture was the monopoly of the patronage and power in the hands of the Vizier and his brother. Mir Jumla, in order to share in the perquisites attached to the patronage, insisted that all orders and petitions should receive his counter-signature as confidential minister of the Emperor. As Vizier, Seyd Abdullah claimed to be the official representative, and Ruttun Chund, his deputy, openly defied the pretensions of the palace favourite. The latter, however, had the ear of the Emperor, and it had been resolved to effect the Vizier's arrest, when suddenly his brother appeared on the scene. It is said that the Emperor's mother, who had guaranteed the arrangement between the Emperor and the two Seyds, when the revolt against the late Emperor was resolved upon, betrayed to them the conspiracy that was being hatched, and caused Hussein Ali to be warned that he should return quickly if he wished to save the influence of his brother. This unexpected return disconcerted the conspirators, and a fresh combination was brought about. It was proposed to elevate Hussein Ali to the Viceroyalty of the Deccan and to remove Asaf Jah to Malwa. Hussein Ali did not object to this as long as he was allowed to govern by a deputy whilst he remained at Delhi, where his influence at the head of the army was sufficient to counteract Mir Jumla's intrigues. This, however, was exactly what the Emperor wished to avoid, and matters were nearly coming to an outbreak when the Emperor's mother interfered. She visited

the two Seyds and persuaded them to come to the Emperor's presence, agreeing, as a guarantee of good faith, that during the audience their troops should garrison the palace. Accordingly the two brothers went, and having made a nominal submission a compromise was effected, under which Mir Jumla was sent to the governorship of Behar and Hussein Ali agreed to go to his post in the Deccan. Such, however, was the power of the haughty soldier that before leaving the Emperor's presence he openly said that if Mir Jumla were recalled, or if anything should be attempted against his brother Seyd Abdullah, he would within twenty days return to Delhi at the head of his army. These matters having been satisfactorily arranged, the Emperior celebrated his marriage with Ajeet Singh's daughter with considerable pomp.*

Mir Jumla actually went to Behar, but the intrigues in his favour still continued at Delhi, and a message was sent by the Emperor to Daoud Khan, the former Deputy of Zulficcar Khan in the Deccan, to oppose Hussein Ali on his march. Daoud Khan was a brave man and from his long connection with this part of the country had considerable influence with the Mahrattas. He therefore accepted the dangerous mission, and calling in Neemajee Scindia, marched from Aurungabad to meet the new Viceroy. It is worthy of remark that during this struggle Asaf Jah had quietly accepted his removal. His time had not yet come, and without attempting to oppose Hussein Ali, he withdrew to Moradabad and left his successor to fight out his quarrel with Daoud Khan. The latter was easily beaten, and being killed during the engagement, his followers at once dispersed. Daoud Khan's body was dragged round Burhanpore at the tail of an elephant, and a despatch was sent to the Emperor apprising him of the death of a rebel. Ferokshere is said to have remarked that Daoud Khan had been unjustly killed, whereupon the Vizier boldly replied that had the same fate happened to his brother Hussein Ali, His Majesty would possibly have been of a different opinion.

For some months there existed a state of armed neutrality between the Emperor and his two powerful nobles. Mir Jumla was no longer at headquarters to take any active part in intrigues, and the

* At this time the Emperor had just recovered from a severe illness during which he had been treated by an English physician, Mr. Hamilton. When the grateful Emperor wished to reward Mr. Hamilton, the latter refused to accept any fees, and the only recompense he asked for was a charter for the East India Company allowing them free trade at Calcutta. This was at once granted, and the fees of office were remitted.

two Seyds were on their guard against any overt act. But the Emperor chafed daily at his state of dependence and resolved as soon as he could to remove the two men who overshadowed his throne. It is said (Khafi Khan) that the Emperor's own mother, who, as already stated, had been a party to the agreement between the Seyds and her son, before he struck a blow for the throne, and who had stood security for her son's good faith,' kept them informed of any plots against their well-being. This may be true, but the real reason of the Emperor's state of feebleness lay in the disorganization of the Empire. He had no friends to whom he could turn for help. It was evident that a great Empire was crumbling to pieces, and that every one was scrambling to secure something for himself. The skies were falling and there was a chance of catching larks. An example of the general feeling of unrest and of the weakness of the Government is to be found in certain riots which occurred in Ahmedabad in the third year of Ferokshere's reign. The origin of the riots was the same as that which brought about the riots in Bombay and elsewhere during the last eighteen months, namely, the cow question. It is remarkable that this is the first instance on record of the Hindus having taken up arms in this matter since the commencement of the Mahomedan rule. The striking difference between the riots of 1714 and those of 1893 lies in the manner in which the rioters were treated. Religious disturbances are always likely to occur between rival creeds in a country like India, but the ease or difficulty with which they are suppressed is the test of the strength or weakness of the Government. The riot originated in a Hindu, on the night of the *Holi* feast, attempting to burn the *holi* on a vacant piece of ground in front of his house, common to himself and a Mahomedan neighbour. The neighbour prevented him, and the Hindu appealed to the Mahomedan Governor, who decided that be had a right to do as he liked in his own house, and accordingly the *holi* was burnt. Next day the neighbour brought a cow to the same piece of ground and slaughtered it there, putting forward as an excuse that he also had a right to do as he liked on his own ground. The Hindus at once rose *en masse* and attacked the Mahomedans, who had to take refuge in their houses. Flushed with their success the Hindus seized the son of a cow-butcher, a lad of 14 or 15, dragged the boy off, and slaughtered him. This act of revenge drew all the Mahomedans from their quarters, and to their assistance came a number of Afghans in the Governor's employ, who were always ready for

a fight. The Mahomedans commenced to fire the Hindus' quarters, but met with a check at the house of a rich Hindu jeweller, which they found barricaded and defended by a number of match-lock men. A regular pitched battle ensued, and numbers were killed on both sides. For three or four days all business and work was suspended, and the citizens were occupied in fighting with each other. At last both parties appealed to Delhi, and petitions were sent to the Emperor. But similar riots were going on at Delhi, and nothing seems to have been done. Matters gradually settled down in Ahmedabad, but no steps appear to have been taken to punish the rioters.

Another example of the brutality and lawlessness of the time is to be found in the treatment of the Sikhs in the same year (1714). This strange sect had always been an object of peculiar abhorrence to the Mahomedans. Goaded by persecution they frequently retaliated in kind. They erected a strong fortification at Gurdaspur in the Panjab, about ten or twelve days journey from Delhi, and an expedition was sent to reduce it. The Sikhs, a strong and warlike race, as we have since discovered, fought with the utmost bravery. On several occasions they almost succeeded in overpowering the Imperial forces, but at last they had to yield to superior numbers and suffered a crushing defeat, after which they shut themselves up in the fort. A long siege followed, in which, owing to the determined bravery of the defenders, no advantage could be gained, and it was only when their supplies were cut off that they could be reduced to sue for terms. The only condition they asked for was that their lives should be spared. This would seem to have been promised, for the Mahomedan historian (Khafi Khan) who relates the incident says: "Diler Jung *at first* refused to grant quarter, but *at length* he advised them to beg pardon of their crimes and offences from the Emperor. Their chief *Guru* with his son of seven or eight years old, his *diwan,* and three or four thousand persons, became prisoners and received the predestined recompense for their deeds." There followed a massacre which is probably unsurpassed in history for the brutality of its details. Khafi Khan goes on to say: "Three or four thousand of them were put to the sword, and the extensive plain was filled with blood as if it had been a dish. Their heads were stuffed with hay and stuck upon spears. Those who escaped the sword were sent in collars and chains to the Emperor." Two thousand stuffed heads and one thousand prisoners were sent to Delhi, and among them the Guru and his son. They

were all paraded before the Emperor, who ordered them to be killed in batches of several hundreds each day, reserving the Guru and his son for the last. When all had been slain the Guru was made to cut off his own son's head, and was then himself slaughtered as a finale. Can anything exceed the savage cruelty and want of good faith displayed in this transaction ?

In the meantime matters were becoming very critical in the Deccan. After the defeat of Daoud Khan by Seyd Hussein Ali, the Emperor secretly instigated the Mahrattas to oppose his Viceroy in the hope of crushing his power through them. One Khunde Row had established a chain of posts along the commercial road from Surat to Burhanpur and black-mailed or robbed all the caravans that passed. Trade was almost paralysed, and two expeditions sent by Hussein Ali against this freebooter were surprised and defeated. Rajah Sahoo at Sattara, secretly encouraged by the Emperor, was also putting forward pretensions to the levy of *chouth* throughout the Mogul possessions in the Deccan. At Delhi affairs seemed to be coming to a crisis. Mir Jumla suddenly returned to Court without leave, and though apparently received with disfavour, he remained in Delhi and was supposed to be intriguing against the Seyds. Seyd Abdullah kept his brother in the Deccan fully informed of how things were going on, and urged him to come in person and by his presence put matters right. Hussein Ali saw that there was no time to be lost, and fearing to leave an unsettled country behind him, determined to come to terms with the Mahrattas. A treaty was accordingly drawn up between him and Rajah Sahoo, in which the claim of the latter to *chouth* was recognized. The Rajah on his side made himself responsible for the peace and security of the districts over which he leived this species of black-mail. He became, as it were, the head of the Deccan Police, and in case of robbery was bound to make good the value of the property stolen. He actually styled himself not the independent rival, but the servant and vassal of the Delhi Emperor. The annual amount of the chouth thus levied from the Provinces of Aurungabad, Berar, Bieder, Bijapur, Hyderabad, and Kandesh, was valued at no less than 18 crores of rupees, equal in those days to nearly £20,000,000.* In order to aid in the collection of the revenue and to keep the peace, the Mahratta Rajah engaged to keep up a force of 15,000 men, to be placed at the disposal of the Mogul Governors.

* Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, Vol. I. p. 383.

No doubt a treaty of this kind was humiliating in the highest degree, but it left Seyd Hussein Ali free to go Delhi and settle matters for himself, and the Seyd's personal interests were to him a matter of greater importance than those of the Empire. Besides, not only did it leave him with free hands, but it also gave him two important allies in the shape of his recent enemy, Khunde Row, and Ballajee Wishwanath, who joined him with a considerable force. As might be expected, the Emperor Ferokshere refused to ratify a treaty which so completely thwarted his intentions, but this was a matter of small importance to the Seyd, who now felt himself strong enough to openly set the Emperor at defiance. Accordingly (1718) he commenced his march towards Delhi, resolved if he could not bend the Emperor to his will to depose him and put a more pliant instrument in his place.

In Delhi everything was ripe for a revolution. Ferokshere had disgusted every one by his vacillation, his tyranny, and his unworthy favourites. The last was a Kashmiri of low birth, named Mahomed Murad, who had been rapidly promoted to the highest rank. Several of the old nobility, and amongst others Nizam-ul-Mulk, were recalled from their posts, and though received with apparent favour were not granted other appointments. The Emperor openly spoke of removing Seyd Abdullah from the post of Vizier and of appointing Mahomed Murad—who was now called Itikad Khan—in his place. Accordingly the old nobility formed a secret combination, and rather than submit to the authority of a low upstart, agreed to support the two Seyds.

When Ferokshere heard of Hussein Ali's march from the Deccan he became alarmed, and a peace was made between him and Seyd Abdullah. The Emperor visited the latter in his house and protested with oaths that he would do him no harm. It was, however, felt on both sides that this reconciliation was a hollow one, and Abdullah's private letters to his brother urged him to hasten his march as much as possible.

Early in 1719 (end of Rabi-ul-Awal A.H. 1131) Hussein Ali arrived near Delhi, and, as if in defiance, caused his drums to be beaten within earshot of the Emperor's palace. Ferokshere at this crisis showed his usual hesitation. At one time he would be transported with rage and vow to be revenged on the two brothers, while at another he would pretend that he was anxious for a reconciliation. The few friends who remained by him saw that the end was coming, and began to desert him. One of the last to do so was the Rajput

prince Jey Singh. He left when the Emperor granted the demand of Seyd Abdullah that he and his brother should be placed in supreme power over all affairs of state and that various posts in the palace and in the Government should be filled by their adherents. Two days after Jey Singh's departure the two brothers entered the citadel, the Emperor's guards were removed, and their own men were placed in charge. "Of all the great men near the Emperor, none were left near him, or near the gates of the fortress except Imtiyaz Khan, registrar of the Privy Council, whose absence or presence made no difference, Zafar Khan, who for his complaisance and time serving was called 'the pea in every soup', and some helpless attendants and eunuchs." (Khafi Khan). At the first audience of the two Seyds with their royal master only a few words passed, but at a second on the following day the brothers openly upbraided him for his intrigues and treachery and denounced the ingratitude with which they had been treated in return for placing him on the throne.

Whilst this discussion was going on in the palace the city was in a state of excitement. For the first time the Mahomedan capital of the Empire was in the hands of infidels, for a large force of Mahrattas was used to garrison it. This unusual sight seems to have excited the rage of some Mahomedan horsemen, fifteen or twenty of whom attacked a band of Mahrattas and put them to flight. A panic followed in which most of the Mahrattas attempted to leave the city, but the people rose and a massacre ensued in which some fifteen hundred Mahrattas, including Santa, a chief of note, were killed. When this riot was at its height the drums were beaten and a declaration was made that Ferokshere had abdicated and was succeeded by Rafi-ud Darajat, grandson of Bahadur Shah. This diverted the attention of the rioters, who now attempted to enter the palace and rescue the Emperor, for though Ferokshere had disgusted the nobility he was still popular with the masses. Here, however, they were met by the Seyds' garrison and repulsed. Inside the palace everything was in confusion. Ferokshere had taken refuge in his zenana, but he was soon dragged out from amongst the shrieking women, taken to a small chamber in the top of the fort, and there blinded. "In this corner of sorrow and grief they left him with nothing but a ewer, a vessel for the necessities of nature, and a glass to drink out of."* (18th February 1719.)

J. D. B. GRIBBLE.

---

* Khafi Khan.

THE AGE OF RAJARAJADEVA :—I.

So much of the ancient history of this country is enveloped in mystery that even a partial unfolding of the smallest fragment of it must be welcome. If history teaches us anything, it is that no single dynasty, especially in a tropical country like India, has been able to produce a succession of able and distinguished rulers. It is very difficult to find in the history of India a second emperor like Aśoka, whose dominions, according to the latest discoveries, extended as far south as the Mysore State,[1] and who has immortalized himself by his religious edicts, which breathe the pure and humane spirit of the founder of Buddhism. Powerful kings like Samudragupta of the Gupta family[2] and Vikramâditya VI. of the Western Châlukya dynasty,[3] who have really left their mark on contemporary history, are to be found only at distant intervals of time. In the present state of our knowledge of the ancient history of India it is not possible to say if these kings satisfied the highest ideal of a sovereign prevailing during their time. The ability of an ancient king has to be judged at this distance of time more or less from the military success which he might have achieved. Gauged even by such a low standard many of the ancient rulers of India would be found sadly wanting. Compared with such sovereigns, a king who rehabilitated the fortunes of the Choḷa dynasty which had sunk, though temporarily, into a low depth of political existence, deserves a high place among the rulers of Southern India. As will be seen in the sequel, the Choḷa king Râjarâjadeva, of whose times I propose to give an account, would hold a high place even were he judged by higher standards than mere military success.

There are two points to which I should like to draw particular attention before going into the subject of this article. The first refers to the materials which I have used. The capital of Râjarâjadeva was Tanjore, and, as might naturally be expected, a considerable amount of historical information regarding the times in which he lived is to be found in the inscriptions of the Râjarâjeśvara

---

[1] See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. pp. 134 ff.

[2] See Dr. Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, p. 13.

[3] The Sanskrit poet Bilhaṇa has composed a poem called *Vikramâṅkadevacharita*, giving an account of the life of this king. See also Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, pp. 48 to 51.

temple built by him in that town. Of these inscriptions a large number have already been edited by Dr. Hultzsch, and the rest will soon be published. The Government Epigraphist has certainly laid all students of South-Indian history under very deep obligation to him by opening the rich mine of historical information contained in the Tanjore inscriptions. Any future writer on the history of Southern India about this period must necessarily derive a considerable portion of his materials from these inscriptions; and the account contained in the following pages is based mainly on these records. The large Leyden grant published in the *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV., and a few unpublished inscriptions, have also been frequently used. Any account of the history of Southern India about this period to be accurate and final must be undertaken when most, if not all, of the inscriptions of Southern India shall have been properly edited. The attempt which I am now making is, however, intended to show how rich inscriptions are in historical facts.

The second point to which I wish to draw the attention of my readers is the mistake which has been made about the identity of the great king who forms the subject of this article. Sir Walter Elliot's list of Choḷa kings contains a Râjarâja who reigned from 1023 to 1064 A.D.[1] These figures depend on three Eastern Chalukya copper-plate grants, two of which have been published by Dr. Fleet[2] and the third in Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. From the published text and translation of these grants, it is evident that the Râjarâja who is mentioned in these inscriptions and who, having ascended the throne in the Śaka year 944 (=1022 A. D.), reigned for 41 years, was no Choḷa but an Eastern Chalukya grandson of the Choḷa king Râjarâjadeva, after whom he was probably called. Dr. Burnell[3] and other writers on South-Indian history have repeated the mistake first made by Sir Walter Elliot, which has been pointed out more than once by Dr. Hultzsch.[4] It is not, however, with a view to deprecate the valuable work done by Sir Walter Elliot and Dr. Burnell that special stress is laid on the mistake. But as some of my readers are likely to make use of books in which the

---

1 *Coins of Southern India*, p. 131.

2 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV. pp. 48 and 55.

3 *South Indian Palæography*, 2nd edition, p. 40.

4 See his Progress Report for May and June 1888, G. O., dated 6th September 1888, No. 877, Public, and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 63.

mistake is not corrected, I have considered it necessary to draw attention to the point.

A brief account of the process by which the initial date of the reign of Râjarâdeva has been arrived at, will not be out of place here. The mistake pointed out above, which stood as a sort of hindrance to further progress and which led to other mistakes, having been removed, the approximate date of the king has been inferred from the following facts :—

(1) In the Sanskrit portion of the large Leyden grant Râjarâja is reported to have conquered Satyâśraya.[1]

(2) In the historical introduction of the Tamil inscriptions of the same Chola king reference is made to his conquest of the seven and a half lakshas of Raṭṭapâḍi *i.e.*, the Western Châlukya empire.[2] In one of the Tanjore inscriptions reference is made to the defeat of Satyâśraya as will be seen below.

(3) In the historical introduction of the Tamil inscriptions of Râjarâja's son and successor Râjendra-Chola, the latter is said to have fought against Jayasiṁha and obtained possession of the seven and a half lakshas of Raṭṭapâḍi.[3]

(4) In a Western Châlukya inscription of Jayasiṁha III., he is represented as "the lion to the elephant Râjendra-Chola."[4]

The last reference shows that the Jayasiṁha who is mentioned in Tamil inscriptions as an enemy of Râjendra-Chola, and the Satyâśraya who was conquered by Râjarâja, were both Western Châlukya kings and identical with Jayasimha III. and Śatyâśraya II., respectively, whose dates are known. The approximate period of Râjarâja having thus been ascertained, an inscription with details of date which could be calculated by an astronomer was discovered in the Bilvanâtheśvara temple at Tiruvallam in the North Arcot district. This date has been computed by Dr. Fleet and the result published in the *Indian Antiquary.*[5]

The Âtakûr inscription discovered by Mr. Rice was subsequently published by Dr. Fleet in the *Epigraphia Indica.* This inscription is dated Śaka 872(=950 A.D.), and reports that the Gaṅga king Bûtuga, a feudatory of the Râshṭrakûṭa Kṛishṇa III., treacherously

---

[1] *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 207, line 65

[2] See, for instance, *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 64 and 67.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 98 and 100.

[4] *Râjendra-Chola-gaja-mṛigarâja. Indian Antiquary*, Vol. V. p. 15, ll.13 f., and Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 149.

[5] Vol. XIX. p. 71.

killed the Choḷa king Râjâditya, the eldest brother of the grandfather of Râjarâja, in a battle fought at Takkola.[1] This is evidently the encounter that is referred to in the Sanskrit portion of the large Leyden grant, where it is said that the Choḷa king Râjâditya died in a battle with Kṛishṇarâja.[2] The *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi*, a Tamil work, which describes the conquest of Kaliṅga by the Chalukya-Choḷa king Kulottunga I., and extracts from which have been published by Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, B.A., B.L., in the *Indian Antiquary*, mentions in chronological order, but without giving the names of kings, the leading historical events from the time of Parântaka I. down to that of the reigning king.[3] This Tamil work and the Âtakûr inscription have substantially confirmed the results arrived at from independent sources as to the approximate date of Râjarâjadeva.

The calculation of the astronomical details contained in the Tiruvallam inscription referred to above offers two alternatives.[4] According to the first alternative the initial date of Râjarâja would be A.D. 984, according to the second, A.D. 1003-4. Dr. Hultzsch has shown that the acceptance of the second alternative is attended with serious historical difficulties.[5] Consequently we have to adopt the first alternative and conclude that the Choḷa king Ko-Râjarâjakesarivarman,—this was his original name,—ascended the throne in A.D. 984.

A short account of the ancestors of Râjarâjadeva will enable us to form some idea of the position which he occupies in the Choḷa dynasty. It is no use going to remote ancestors like Ko-Kiḷḷi, Karikâla, and Ko-Śeṅgaṇṇâṉ. Of Vijayâlaya and Âditya, the first two names on the genealogy furnished by the large Leyden grant and the Udayendiram grant of the Bâṇa king Hastimalla,[6] very little is known. Âditya's son, Parântaka I., was a very powerful king. From the Udayendiram grant we learn that he was also called Vîra-Nârâyaṇa and Madirai-koṇḍa Ko-Parakesarivarman, and that he conquered the Pâṇḍya king Râjasiṁha, and defeated

---

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II. p. 168.

[2] *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. pp. 206 f., ll. 42 to 45.

[3] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX. p. 339.

[4] The calculation actually yields four possible dates, of which the earliest and the latest are rejected as they do not fit with the approximate period of Râjarâja. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX. p. 71.

[5] See his Annual Report for 1891-92, G.O., dated 6th August 1892, Nos. 544, 545, Public, pp. 4 f.

[6] *Salem Manual*, Vol. II. pp. 369 ff.

the army of the king of Ceylon. The Singhalese chronicle *Mahavansa* tells us that Kassapa V., the king of Ceylon who reigned from 929 to 939 A.D., sent an army into India to aid the Pâṇḍya king in his war against the Choḷa, but that the army was defeated.[1] It is evidently this war that is referred to in the Udayendiram grant. If the dates given in the *Mahavansa* for Kassapa V. are correct, we can obtain the approximate date of Parântaka I. His queen was the daughter of a Keraḷa king. One of his tributaries was the Gaṅga king Râjasiṁha, otherwise called Hastimalla, on whom Parântaka conferred the Bâṇa sovereignty. The large Leyden grant tells us that Parântaka covered with gold the Śiva temple at Vyâghrâgrahâra, which is synonymous with Puliyûr, the ancient Tamil name of Chidambaram, in the South Arcot district.[2] The latest date we have for him is the 34th year of his reign.[3] Parântaka's eldest son was Râjâditya, who, as stated above, was treacherously killed by a Gaṅga king, a feudatory of the Râshṭrakûṭa Kṛishṇa III. *alias* Kannara. From certain Tamil inscriptions, two of which were published in a previous number of this magazine,[4] we learn that a king called Kaṉṉaradeva captured Kachchi and Tañjai, *i.e.*, Conjeeveram and Tanjore. The encounter referred to in the large Leyden grant between the Choḷa king Râjâditya and Kṛishṇarâja, the battle of Takkola mentioned in the Âtakûr inscription and the Tamil inscriptions just quoted, allude to the same event, *i.e.*, a successful invasion of the Choḷa dominions by the Râshṭrakûṭas under Kṛishṇa III. In his edition of the spurious Sûḍi plates, Dr. Fleet remarks that they contain references to two real historical events.[5] A third historical event in the same record is the siege of Tañjâpurî[6] (*i.e.*, Tanjore), which is mentioned as having been effected by the Gaṅga king Bûtuga, who has already been referred to in this paper. It was in consequence of this siege that Bûtuga's overlord, the Râshṭrakûṭa king Kṛishṇa III. *alias* Kannaradeva, assumed the title Tañjai-koṇḍa, "who took Tañjai (or Tanjore)," which occurs in the Tamil inscriptions quoted above. Râjâditya's younger brother was Gaṇḍarâdityavarman, of

---

[1] L. C. Wijesinha's Translation, pp. 80 f.

[2] *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 206, ll. 35 and 36.

[3] Dr. Hultzsch's Annual Report for 1891-92, G.O., dated 6th August 1892, Nos. 544, 545, Public, No. 96 of 1892.

[4] Vol. IX. No. 10.

[5] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III. p. 175.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 183.

whom no more is known than that he was the author of one of the hymns in honour of Śiva contained in the collection known as *Tiru-viśaippâ*,[1] and that he granted to Brâhmaṇas a village which he called after his own name.[2] Of Râjâditya's youngest brother Ariṁjaya we know almost nothing.[3] All that the large Leyden grant says about Ariṁjaya's son, Parântaka II., is that he fought a battle at Chevûr.[4] In the verses which are quoted as illustrations in a Tamil work called *Iraiyaṉâr-Agapporuḷ*, a certain Pâṇḍya king named Neḍumâraṉ is frequently represented as having fought a battle at Śevûr against the Chera king.[5] It is not impossible that the battle referred to in the large Leyden grant was the same as that mentioned in the *Iraiyaṉâr-Agapporuḷ*. If the two were identical, the question whether Parântaka II. fought for the Chera or for the Pâṇḍya king has to be decided. If it was against the latter that Parântaka fought, then it is clear that his son Âditya Karikâla took part in the war, or that, after Parântaka's death, the war must have continued during the reign of his son, because it is reported in the large Leyden grant that Âditya Karikâla fought in his youth against Vîra-Pâṇḍya.[6] The successor of Âditya Karikâla and predecessor of his younger brother Râjarâja was Madhurântaka, the son of Gaṇḍarâdityavarman, about whom nothing is known. Thus after the death of Parântaka I. the first king was treacherously killed in battle and the successful invader followed up his victory to the town of Tanjore which he besieged and captured; the second king died a Śaiva devotee; of the third and sixth kings almost nothing is known; and the fourth and fifth probably waged an unsuccessful war against the Pâṇḍyas. Such was the plight into which the Choḷas had fallen when Râjarâjakesarivarman,—afterwards called Râjarâjadeva,—ascended the throne.

---

1 Madras edition of 1879, pp. 73 to 76.

2 *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 207, ll. 48 to 50. In *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 74, a village named Gaṇḍarâditya-chaturvedi-maṅgalam is mentioned, and Mr. Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 265, mentions a village called Kaṇḍarâdityam, in the Trichinopoly district.

3 An unpublished inscription at Melpâdi in the North Arcot district refers to a temple called Ariñjigai-Iśvara, or Ariñjîśvara, built by Râjarâjadeva. See Dr. Hultzsch's Progress Report for October 1889 to January 1890, G. O., dated 11th March 1890, No. 189, Public. No. 17 of *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II., mentions a village called Ariñjigai-chaturvedimaṅgalam. It is very probable that both this village and the temple at Melpâḍi were called after the Chola king Ariṁjaya.

4 *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 207, ll. 53 to 55.

5 Mr. C. W. Damodaram Pillai's edition, pp. 38, 48, and 71.

6 *Archæological Survey of Southern India*. Vol. IV. p. 207, ll. 58 to 60.

We will now turn to the military achievements of Râjarâja, about which we know more than of any other events of his life. It is not certain where the king's capital was when he ascended the throne, though the town of Tanjore must have existed then, as already Gaṇḍarâditya calls himself "the king of the people of Tañjai (*i.e.* Tanjore)" in his hymn to which reference has been made in this article.[1] A considerable number of inscriptions, in which the king is called Râjarâjakesarivarman, or Râjarâja-Râjakesarivarman,—only those inscriptions which contain either of these two names before the number of the regnal year can be ascribed to the king who is the subject of this article,—dated during the early part of his reign are found in the North Arcot and Chingleput districts.[2] It would, however, be very unsafe to draw any inferences from this fact until more is known of the king's early life as well as of the inscriptions of Southern India. Until the 10th year of his reign the king did not untertake any expedition. During this period he was probably engaged in recruiting an efficient army and otherwise preparing himself for the struggle which he must have thought he should undertake before the Choḷa power and prestige could be restored. In the 10th year of his reign the king destroyed the ships in the port of Kândaḷûr, which appears to have been situated in the dominions of the Chera king.[3] During the next three years the king appears to have kept quiet. In the 14th year of his reign (=998 A.D.) he was very active, inasmuch as he conquered Veṇgai-nâḍu, the Eastern Chalukya kingdom; Gaṅgapâḍi and Nuḷambapâḍi, which formed part of the present Mysore State; and Taḍigaipâḍi, the situation of which is unknown.

---

[1] *தஞ்சையர்கோன்*, verse 10 on page 76 of the Madras edition, 1879, of *Tiruviśaippâ*.

[2] These inscriptions have been found at Tiruvallam, Pañchapâṇḍavamalai, Ukkal, and Mâmaṇḍûr in the North Arcot district, and at Conjeeveram in the Chingleput district.

[3] *காந்தளூர் சாலை கலமறுத்த* occurs in most of the earlier inscriptions of Râjarâja, and *சாலை கலமறுத்த* in a few unpublished ones. *சேரளன் சாலை*, "Śâlai belonging to the Chera king," occurs in some unpublished inscriptions of later kings. The destruction of the ships at Kândaḷûr is also mentioned in the historical introduction of the inscriptions of Ko-Râjakesarivarman *alias* Râjâdhirâjadeva, one of the successors of Râjarâjadeva. Later on, it seems to have become the fashion for Chola kings to 'capture' Śâlai. In the *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi* reference is made to the capture of Śâlai. In the *Vikrama-Śoḻaṉ-ulâ*, an unpublished work, which will be referred to below, Kulottuṅga I. is said to have "twice quelled the rebellion at Śâlai." From the manner in which Śâlai is mentioned in the *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi*, it appears to have been situated on the sea coast

The kingdom of Veṅgî was, according to Eastern Chalukya copper-plate grants, without a king at this period.[1] The interregnum began in Śaka 895 (=973 A.D.) and lasted 27 years. It was in the very same year that Taila II. of the Western Châlukya dynasty ascended the throne.[2] Consequently I am led to think, though there are at present no sufficient grounds for such a supposition, that Taila II. was, either directly or indirectly, the cause of the interregnum in the Eastern Chalukya dominions. There is, however, one fact which supports my conjecture, and that is that there was nobody else but Taila II. who could have caused it. He was at the time the most powerful king in Southern India. The Râshṭrakûṭa kings had become almost extinct by that time,[3] and their dominions were taken possession of by Taila II., and the Choḷas had not yet regained the power which they lost at the death of Parântaka I. The most serious objection to my conjecture is that Taila's interference with the Eastern Chalukyas is not referred to either in the Western or in the Eastern Chalukya records. I should reply to the above objection by saying that the two branches of the Chalukyas considered themselves as cousins and did not wish to be represented as fighting with each other. Taila II. died in 997 A. D.,[4] the very year in which the conquest of Veṅgai-nâḍu, Gaṅgapâḍi, Taḍigaipâḍi, and Nuḷambapâḍi was undertaken by Râjarâja. It looks as if Râjarâja was afraid of Taila II. and had to wait for his death to invade even the outlying districts of the Western Châlukya kingdom. The conquest of Veṅgî appears to have been the cause of the marriage of Vimalâditya of the Eastern Chalukya family withKûndavá, the daughter of Râjarâja.[5] As Râjarâja died previous to the accession of Vimalâditya,[6] it is probable that the marriage of Kûndavâ did not take place while her father was living but was celebrated by her brother Râjendra-Choḷa. This is the reason why, in the copper-plate grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Râjarâja I. published by Dr. Fleet, Kûndavâ

---

[1] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 32.

[2] Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 41.

[3] The latest known date for Kakka II., the last king of the dynasty, is A.D. 973. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III., Table facing p. 54.

[4] Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 42.

[5] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV. p. 50.

[6] Vimalâditya ascended the throne in Śaka 937. *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 32. The Choḷa king Râjarâja very probably died in the 29th year of his reign, *i.e.*, in the Śaka year 935.

is said to have been the daughter of the Choḷa king Râjarâja and younger sister of Râjendra-Choḷa.[1] After subduing the outlying districts of the Western Châlukya kingdom, Râjarâja turned his arms against enemies in the south. In the latter part of the 14th year of his reign, *i.e.*, 998 A. D., he conquered Kuḍamalainâḍu and "deprived the Śeṛiyas of their splendour."[2] Kuḍamalainâḍu is the modern Coorg. The language in which the conquest of the Śeṛiyas is referred to is instructive. In the first place the word Śeṛiyar, *i.e.*, Pâṇḍyas, is in the plural number, thus indicating that there was more than one Pâṇḍya prince living at the time of Râjarâja. Again, the fact that the Çhoḷa king deprived the Pâṇḍyas of their splendour, implies that before this time they possessed splendour, which means that they were famous. From this we are to understand that during the time when the Choḷa power was on the wane, the Pâṇḍyas had become supreme. A vague indication of this supremacy is furnished by the large Leyden grant, which, as has already been noticed, says that Âditya Karikâla, the elder brother of Râjarâja, *fought* in his youth with Vîra-Paṇḍya.[3] The fact that in this fight the victory is not claimed for the Choḷa king shows that he was very probably defeated.

Frequent reference is made in the Tanjore inscriptions to the defeat which Râjarâja inflicted on the Chera king and the Pâṇḍyas in Malainâḍu.[4] Very probably this is the event referred to in the historical introduction by the conquest of Kuḍamalainâḍu and the defeat of the Pâṇḍyas, both of which evidently took place in one and the same year. From this we must conclude that the Chera king, who was probably smarting under the loss sustained by him at Kâ-ndaḷûr, joined with the Pâṇḍyas in opposing the Choḷa. In this victory the king appears to have obtained a large amount of booty in the shape of gold and jewels.[5] In the historical introductions of a few of the inscriptions of Râjarâjadeva, a place by name Udagai is

---

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV. p. 50. The fact that, in the long list of conquests with which the Tamil inscriptions of Râjendra-Choḷa begin, Veṅgî is not mentioned, shows that the Choḷa king continued to be on friendly terms with his brother-in-law Vimalâditya and nephew Râjarâja I.

[2] In an unpublished inscription of the 14th year, found at Ukkal in the North Arcot district, these two items of conquest are not mentioned, while an inscription of the same year found at Melpâḍi in the same district refers to both of them.

[3] *Archæological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 207, ll. 58 to 60.

[4] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 1, paragraphs 34, 51, 52, and 107, and No. 59, paragraph 3.

[5] See the paragraphs referred to in the previous note.

mentioned in connection with the Pâṇḍyas. The *Kaliṅgattu Paraṇi* speaks of "the storming of Udagai" in the verse which refers to Râjarâja.[1] The *Kulottuṅga-Śoṛaṉ-ulâ,*[2] an unpublished work, refers to the burning of Udagai. This was probably a fort in the Pâṇḍya country which Râjarâja captured. As the Pâṇḍyas were natural enemies of the king, he seems to have gloried much in his conquest of them. In the historical introductions of inscriptions belonging to the 15th and later years of the king's reign it is said that he was always depriving the Pâṇḍyas of their splendour. Having already overcome the Chera king, probably while destroying the ships at Kândaḷûr, Râjarâja assumed, after his conquest of the Pâṇḍyas, the title Mummuḍi-Śoṛa, "the Choḷa king who wears three crowns (*i. e.* the Chera, Choḷa and Pâṇḍya crowns)," which occurs first in an unpublished inscription of the 14th year of the king's reign at Melpâḍi in the North Arcot district.[3] Râjarâja evidently thought, after his conquest of the Pâṇḍyas, that his future was to be very bright, and imagined that the goddess of the great earth had become his along with the goddess of prosperity. It is in inscriptions of the 14th year of the king's reign that the usual historical introduction beginning with திருமகள், which was evidently composed after the conquest of the Pâṇḍyas had been effected, occurs for the first time.[4] The *Vikrama-Śoṛaṉ-ulâ,* extracts from which have been published by Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai in the *Indian Antiquary,* refers to a king, "who conquered Malainâḍu and killed 18 princes in retaliation for the insult offered to his envoy."[5] The *Kulottuṅga-Śoṛaṉ-ulâ,* mentioned above, speaks of an ancestor of the reigning Choḷa king who "cut off eighteen heads and set fire to Udagai." The conquest of Malainâḍu and the burning of Udagai evidently refer to the reign of Râjarâjadeva, but it does not appear when he "cut off the heads of eighteen princes." After overcoming the Pâṇḍyas the

---

1 Canto viii. verse 24.

2 Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai refers to this work in the *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XXII. p. 141.

3 Dr. Hultzsch's Progress Report for October 1889 to January 1890, G.O., dated 11th March 1890, No. 189, Public, p. 5, No. 87 of 1889.

4 The passage திருமகள் பொலப்பெருநிலச்செல்வியுந்தனக்கெயுரிமை பூண்டமை மனக்கொள் does not occur in an unpublished inscription of the 14th year, in which the conquest of the Pâṇḍyas is not referred to, and had, evidently, not yet taken place.

5 *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XXII. p. 142.

king subdued Kollam and Kalingam in the years 999 and 1000 A.D. Kollam is Quilon on the Malabar coast. Râjarâja next directed his arms against Ceylon. This was in the year 1000-1001 A.D. The king is said to have undertaken this expedition in order that "the eight directions might praise him."[1] This phrase occurs in the earlier inscriptions, but in later ones the personal appearance of the Singhalese seems to receive an uncomplimentary remark.[2] The Singhalese chronicle *Mahavansa* tells us that Ceylon was at that time in a state of confusion.[3] Evidently, this was due, partially at least, to the invasion of Râjarâja.

The period from the 18th to the 21st year of the king's reign (=1002 to 1005 A.D.) was not characterised by any military achievements. It was during this time that the king received the *biruda* Râjarâja, which occurs first in a Tiruvallam inscription of the 20th year (= A.D. 1004).[4] According to the *Koṅgudeśarâjâkkaḷ*, the king seems to have made certain gifts to the Chidambaram temple in Śaka 926 (=1004 A.D.).[5] It is possible, though not certain, that the *biruda* Râjarâja was conferred on the king by the temple authorities at Chidambaram in consequence of these gifts. But from No. 1 of the Tanjore inscriptions it appears that the king received the *birudas* Srî-Râjarâja and Śivapâdaśekhara in the period from the

---

[1] எண்டிசை புகழ்தர. *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. pp. 2, 14, and 21.

[2] முரட்டெழில் சிங்களர். *Ibid.* Vol. II. pp. 42 and 53.

[3] L. C. Wijesinha's Translation, pp. 89f.

[4] Dr. Hultzsch's Progress Report for October 1889 to January 1890, G. O., dated 11th March 1890, No. 189, Public, page 6, inscription No. 14 of 1890. In inscriptions which are dated as late as the 18th year, the king's name is given as *Ko-Râja-Râjakesarivarman* or *Ko Râjarâja-Râjakesarivarman*. In two inscriptions of the 19th year on a stone placed at the entrance to the Government Central Museum at Madras, *Ko-Râjarâja-Râjakesarivarman*, *alias Srî-Râjarâjarâjadeva* is found. The second name of the king occurs in the same form, *i.e.*, with a threefold repetition of the word *râja*, in an inscription of the 20th year found at Somur in the Coimbatore district, and in inscriptions of the 22nd, 23rd and 24th years. In two inscriptions, *viz.*, the large Leyden grant and the Tirumalai inscription, both of which are dated in the 21st year, the second name occurs only with a twofold repetition of the word *râja*, *i.e.*, as *Srî-Râjarâjadeva*. The same form occurs in an inscription of the 25th year found at Mâmallapuram in the Chingleput district, while another inscription found in the same village but dated in the 26th year, contains a threefold repetition of the word *râja* (Dr. Hultzsch's *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. pp. 64 and 67). From these facts we may conclude that it was considered immaterial whether the word *râja* was repeated twice or thrice in the second name of the king. If this conclusion is correct, we shall have evidence to show that the king bore the name Śri-Râjarâjadeva in the 19th year of his reign.

[5] *Madras Journal*, Vol. XIV. Part I. p. 17.

23rd to the 29th year of his reign (=1007 to 1013 A.D.).[1] This statement is at variance with the fact that the name Śrî-Râjarâja-deva occurs already in an inscription of the 20th year (=1004 A.D.). In the Tanjore inscription No. 1 the gifts made to the temple during a period of seven years were all engraved together in the 29th year of the king's reign. It is therefore apparent that the chronological order in which these gifts were made was forgotten at the time when they were engraved on stone. This conclusion is warranted by the fact that in other parts of the same inscription the years and the days on which the gifts were made are recorded.[2] Under these circumstances it is not impossible that a mistake has been committed in the Tanjore inscription regarding the year in which the king received the *biruda* Śrî-Râjarâja. The most important military achievement of the king was the conquest of the seven and a half lakshas of Iraṭṭapâḍi, which was another name for the Western Châlukya empire. It was very probably in this war that the Western Châlukya king Satyâśraya II. was defeated. The conquest of the seven and a half lakshas of Iraṭṭapâḍi is not mentioned either in the Tirumalai inscription of Râjarâja[3] or in the Tamil portion of the large Leyden grant,[4] both of which are dated in the 21st year of the king's reign. From this fact we conclude that this event did not take place until towards the middle of the 21st year. In the Sanskrit portion of the large Leyden grant the conquest of Satyâśraya is referred to. But it must be remembered that the Sanskrit portion of the large Leyden grant is an inscription by itself and does not form a part of the Tamil portion of the same grant. The Tamil portion was evidently drafted during the 21st year of the reign of Râjarâja, while the Sanskrit portion was drafted during the reign of his son and successor who is there called Madhurântaka.[5] It is distinctly stated near the end of the Sanskrit portion that the grant was issued on the death of Râjarâja, by his son. Consequently we cannot assume that the Sanskrit portion is dated in the same year as the Tamil portion and argue from the mention of the defeat of Satyâśraya in the former that the conquest of Raṭṭapâḍi took place in the 21st year of the king's reign. Of course it is just possible that this conquest took place about the end of the 21st year

---

1 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 1, paragraph 55.

2 *Ibid.* No. 1, paragraphs 1 to 50.

3 *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 94.

4 *Archæological Survey of Southern India.* Vol. IV p. 210. ll. 166 to 173.

5 *Ibid.* p. 208, ll. 87 and 88.

subsequent to the date of the Tamil portion of the large Leyden grant as well as of the Tirumalai inscription above referred to. The conquest of the seven and a half lakshas of the Raṭṭapâḍi occurs first in an inscription of the 22nd year of the king's reign.[1] From No. 1 of the Tanjore inscriptions we learn that Râjarâja presented a large number of gold flowers to the Râjarâjeśvara temple on his return to Tanjore after having defeated Satyâśraya.[2] These gifts are mentioned along with a large number of others which are said to have been made between the 23rd and 29th years of the king's reign. It appears from this that the defeat of Satyâśraya took place between the 23rd and 29th years and the conquest of the seven and a half lakshas of Raṭṭapâḍi would accordingly have to be placed between the 23rd and 29th years in spite of the explicit evidence to the contrary furnished by the inscription dated in the 22nd year.

But from what has been said above in connection with the *biruda* Śrî Râjarâja, and from the fact that the gift of these golden flowers is mentioned promiscuously along with the rest which were made between the 23rd and 29th years, it will be apparent that the precise year and day on which the king returned from his invasion of the Western Châlukya dominions were forgotten in the 29th year, when all these gifts were engraved. Therefore it is unsafe to lay much stress on the mention of the defeat of Satyâśraya in this portion of the Tanjore inscriptions when determining the precise year in which the conquest of the seven and a half lakshas of Raṭṭapâḍi took place. Accordingly, discarding the unsafe evidence furnished by the Tanjore inscription and accepting the explicit reference contained in the inscription of the 22nd year, we conclude that Râjarâja's invasion of the Western Châlukya dominions took place in the 21st–22nd year of the king's reign, *i.e.*, in 1005–6 A.D. The defeat of Satyâśraya, which must have been the consequence of this invasion, evidently took place in the same year. That Râjarâja attached great importance to his victory over Satyâśraya is shown by the fact that he presented golden flowers to the temple on his return from the expedition. From the 23rd till towards the middle of the 29th year the country seems to have enjoyed perfect peace, and the king probably devoted his energies to the task of internal administration. The building of the

---

[1] This unpublished inscription is found at Tiruvallam in the North Arcot district.

[2] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 1, paragraph 92.

Râjarâjeśvara temple,—this was the original name of the modern Bṛihadîśvara temple,—in Tanjore and the multifarious endowments and gifts which he made to the temple must have occupied a prominent place in the king's mind during these years. The 29th was probably the last year of his reign. Even then his warlike spirit does not seem to have abated, for an expedition was undertaken against the Twelve Thousand Islands.[1] Which group in the Indian Ocean was denoted by this name I do not know.

V. VENKAYYA.

TWO SONNETS.

THE POET AND THE LOVER.

" SWEET is the morning air," the poet sings,
" That wafts the fragance from the jasmine beds,
And half-awakened bowers ; the moon that sheds
Her glory on the sleep-enchanted things,
How beautiful ! the music wild that springs
From yon revolving spheres, as each one treads
Behind its sister, how it thrills and spreads
Within my inmost frame !—would I had wings !"
Then let him sing his half-unhuman song
And soar away ; for me, my love, the air
Thou breath'st, is sweeter far than gales of morn ;
Far fairer than Diana with her throng
Of twinkling maids, thy face ; and how compare
Thy honied words with music fancy-born ?

THE POET'S HOME.

THE mole regards its hill a mansion fair
And vast ; a moving palace to the snail
Its twisted shell ; nor do the fish bewail
The briny chaos they with myriads share ;
The lord of beasts is proud of his dread lair,
The soaring eagle and the mountain quail
Of twiggen nests ; and men of vision frail

---

[1] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. pp. 42 and 53.

Are vain of marble domes and paintings rare.
But where the poet's home, his soul's delight?
Roofed with a splendid canopy, and bright
With lights eternal, bounded by the deep,
Adorned with hills and dales and haunted streams,
With all that's sweet and fair and grand it teems,
And God Himself doth deign that house to keep.

A. M.

LITERARY NOTICES.

The Diary and Consultation Book of the Agent Governor and Council of Fort St. George. First Series, 1682. Edited by A. T. Pringle. Madras: Government Press, 1894. Re. 1-8-0.

WE heartily welcome this new series in which Mr. Pringle gives us without any curtailment or omission the diary of the Council at Fort St. George two hundred years ago. If each volume is as full of interest as the present, Madras in the olden time will be a living picture before us. The most important event recorded in 1682 is the separation of 'the Bay' from the control of the Council here. On December 14th there stands an entry "that the Bay Account be cleared off by Account Currant in reguard that the Company has now ordered that place to be an Agency and to be noe longer dependent to this place." The settlement of a Factory at Cuddalore also marks the year. The Council had its usual difficulties with the Company's servants. It was found necessary to dismiss the first member of Council, Mr. John Bridger, for trading on his own account and encouraging interlopers. Nor was he the only prominent official on whom discipline was exercised. The Dutch at Masulipatam as in the previous year abused the English settled there, and exactions by the petty chiefs of the neighbourhood had also to be endured. An illustration of the change in the character of the English settlement in India may be seen in the fact that one of the Company's servants is selected for a high post on the ground that he had served some years as a linen-draper. The year has a distinction of its own in the fact that it saw the prohibition of the export of the people of the country as slaves. The encroachments of the sea created great alarm, and, despite all that could be done, undermined part of one of the batteries, causing its collapse. The contracts for the sale of liquor were put up to auction, but no bidders were forthcoming, so the Council was compelled to conduct the traffic. Over-taxation was not unknown even two centuries ago, for the Council found it necessary to remove the taxes

on the 'Buttiques' or small shops. The chronic dhoby difficulty prevailed then, and the Council had to advance to the washermen 2,000 pagodas. The reports on the shipping supply a hint regarding the hardships of the voyage from England. The numbers given are mostly of this fashion—"105 men, 13 dead in ye voyage and 2 run away."

One or two details of language may be noted. The Agent-Governor was addressed as 'Your Worship'. 'Crazy' is used of physical weakness. We have 'uncapable' for incapable, and a natural use of 'retaliate' in the phrase, "retaliate his kindness."

Macmillan's Colonial Library.

Lady William. By Mrs. Oliphant.

Readers of fiction will be grateful to Mrs. Oliphant for this simple story. After the records of the wild freaks of the 'new woman' and the shrieks of the 'revolting daughters', it is as refreshing as a draught of pure water from a bubbling spring, or a breath of fresh mountain air to one coming out of a crowded room or a heated atmosphere.

The story is by no means exciting, the incidents being those of every day life. The nearest approach to the wickedness that is supposed to give spice to a novel is an intriguing old woman who would deprive a widow and an orphan of their right, without any apparent benefit to herself but from some feeling of spite and revenge, the reason for which is not quite clear. Lady William, the heroine of the story, is introduced to us living with her daughter in a very modest way and in a very tiny house. She is the sister-in-law of a marquis, and by virtue of her rank takes precedence of her sister-in-law, the rector's wife, and even of the wife of a general, who bitterly resents having to "walk behind the governess woman," as she puts it. Though poor, Lady William seems to live happily, visiting and receiving visits from the best people,

The plot of the story is simple enough. Lady William is the daughter of a former and sister of the present rector of a country parish not far from London. All she has to depend on is a small annuity, given, very grudgingly and sometimes in arrears, by her husband's family. Yet she is unquestionably a lady, with the elegant appearance and all the feelings and instincts supposed to belong to gentle blood. Her daughter is a plain and homely girl, but of a loving and generous nature, simple and unaffected, and strikingly unlike the girl of the period. Mother and daughter live happily together, without a thought of change, until some one suggests that Mat ought to have some advantages suitable to her rank. Just at this time the great lady of the place returns with her son to her country residence after a long absence. The son immediately calls on Lady William, who seems to have been his governess before her strange marriage, and renews a friendship of which his mother, Mrs.

Swinford, for reasons that are never made quite clear, does not approve. Mrs. Swinford has an intense dislike to Lady William, and speaks of her to her friend and confidant as "that woman bearing the name————, which she never would have had but for me." This and similar remarks give a clue to the reason why Lady William never speaks of her husband, not even to his child, who knows nothing of her father.

The return of the Swinfords is followed by a visit from Lady William's nephew, the young Lord William. Mat is introduced to her hitherto unknown cousin in the garden, where she is engaged in putting in her carnations "before the rain comes." She submits to the introduction with characteristic coolness, remarking on the shortness of her frock, and holding out to Lord William her big gardening glove. The reason of Lord William's sudden desire to make the acquaintance of his aunt and his cousin comes out after a while. A brother of Lady William's husband dies intestate, and Mat is thus entitled to half the estate. The Marquis therefore sends his son to find out whether Lady William and her daughter will waive their right to half the estate and take something less. This the young man tells in a hesitating way to Mrs. Swinford, at whose house he is staying; and she offers to prove that "Emily Plowden," as she calls her, "is not Lord William's widow at all." The clergyman who married them is dead, the church in which they were married was burned with its records and register, and the only witness of the marriage is supposed to be a mysterious friend and relation of Mrs. Swinford. But evidence turns up from an unexpected quarter, and Mrs. Swinford is baffled in her wicked designs.

There are no love passages in the book, except the story of the curate and the rector's daughter, which comes to a satisfactory conclusion. We should have liked to have seen Mat, sweet child of nature, and unspoiled by conventionality, more highly appreciated, and united, as is usual in novels, to one who would have made her happy. But we must take leave of her, which we do with regret, heart-whole and alone with her mother.

The Prisoner of Zenda. By Anthony Hope.

THIS is one of the most refreshing stories of adventure that have lately appeared. It purports to be the history of three months in the life of Rudolf Rassendyll, an English gentleman. The scene is principally laid in the kingdom of Ruritania and the action concerns the intrigues of the king's half-brother Michael to obtain possession of the Ruritanian throne. There are six of the most picturesque villains in fiction who are always at Michael's beck and call, and who all meet with fitting retribution, save one who escapes the vengeance of Rassendyll. The interest of the story depends upon a remarkable resemblance between Rassendyll and the king. This resemblance places the former in a position of peculiar perplexity from which by a tremendous exertion

of self-control he emerges with untainted honour. It would be unfair to reveal anything of the nature of the plot, but we can promise readers that they will not willingly lay the book down when they have once started to read it.

Two Telugu Publications.

Grounds for Belief in God. By W. H. Campbell, M.A., B.D.

THE author of this book merits the unstinted gratitude of all Telugu readers. The book is not a translation but an original work. The language is pure, and the thought-form and dress indigenous; the illustrations are such as can be easily understood by ordinary people. Such work is rare. Most of the pabulum provided for Telugu Christian people is translation, and the greater part of this is bad translation. This is the case even when it is done by Hindus, for if the grammatical form of the sentence be correct, the fact that there may be very good grammar and very bad sense does not seem to strike the writers. The present work might with advantage have been a little lax in regard to some rules of grammar, but we will not complain.

There are some few things which need to be noted in issuing a new edition. Here and there words are used wrongly, and in some cases, words scientifically correct need to be substituted for those now used. The course of the argument is sometimes not so definitely marked as could be wished. The book needs much more careful editing. It is not always easy to make out whether the author is stating his own case or that of his opponents. In the examination of the agnostic position the use of a misleading word for the agnostic argument makes the whole paragraph rather cloudy. Here and there lucidity is sacrificed to space. The nebular hypothesis, for example, a thing perhaps not hitherto stated in Telugu, is disposed of in a short paragraph. We look for a whole theology from the author. We are sure it will be unfettered by mere conventionality.

The Book of Common Prayer: its History and Contents. By J. E. Padfield, B.D. Second Edition.

MUCH care has been taken in bringing out this edition, and blemishes noted in the first edition are almost entirely absent. A few, however, still appear. It would have been well if the merely technical term 'absolution' had been rendered by another term than పాప విమోచన, which is already largely used for the Divine forgiveness. The history of the Apostles' creed is not quite up to date; nor is it full enough for so important a subject. Text-books might have been disregarded in this matter. పరిశుద్ధముగా ఆచరించుట is a phrase that seems hardly applicable to ceremony merely. It may be noted that Chrysostom has his name spelt in a way that is as yet confined to this book.

The book is on the whole, however, carefully prepared, and is a very desirable addition to the library of Christians who use the Book of Common Prayer.

A Manual of Micro-chemical Analysis. By H. Behrens. With an Introductory Chapter, by John W. Judd, F.R.S. London: Macmillan and Co., 1894. *Price 6s.*

THIS volume deals with a method of chemical analysis which, though of comparatively recent origin, has already shown itself to be of great value, especially to the petrographer. The analysis of rock specimens is often a matter of much difficulty, inasmuch as the separation of the various minerals contained in the rock can usually be accomplished only under the microscope, so that much time and labour have to be expended before sufficient quantities are obtained for analysis by the ordinary methods. There are, indeed, various methods by which this labour can be reduced in special cases, but even with the help of these much time has to be spent on the preliminary work. The system of analysis dealt with in this manual is one by which the preliminary work is reduced to a minimum, since it is one which requires microscopical quantities of the minerals and yet yields qualitative results quite comparable in accuracy with the ordinary methods of wet analysis.

Let us suppose, for instance, that we have got a microscopical section of some rock in which it is desired to identify the various constituent minerals. Ordinary microscopic examination, with or without the aid of polarized light, will, in most cases, enable us to recognise a number of the constituents with certainty, but there may be other constituents which are unrecognisable. The next step, then, is to separate one of these under a low power with a needle point, and to submit it to special wet tests *under the microscope.* Thus, instead of having to laboriously collect a sufficient amount of the mineral for ordinary chemical tests, the whole process can be gone through with a minute portion easily carried on the point of a needle. It would be out of place here to enter into the details of the process, but a few examples may be given of its delicacy. By forming crystals of sulphate of calcium it is possible to recognise 0·00019 mgr. (0·19 μgr.) of sulphur. Silver can be traced under the microscope as chloride from a solution in ammonia or as a chromate precipitate from an acid solution; and in either case 0·15 μgr. can be recognised with certainty. Again in the case of nickel when precipitated with potassium nitrite and acetate of lead 0·008 μgr. can be recognised.

Enough has been said to show how valuable the method must be to petrographers; and it need only be added that the names of Professors Behrens and Judd are sufficient guarantee of the quality of the manual.

NOTES AND EXTRACTS.

In an article contributed to the last number of the *Indian Church Quarterly Review* Dr. K. S. Macdonald discusses the supposed influence of the life and doctrines of Buddha on the life and doctrines of Christ. Dr. Macdonald's object is to show, in opposition to the assertions of several writers on the subject, that there is no reason to believe that either the life of Buddha or the teaching or doctrine of Buddhism had any influence on the Gospels, or indeed, on any of the writers of the New Testament. He proceeds to do this by showing, first, that the evidence on which the opposite contention is based is of no value; secondly, that Buddha and Buddhism were unknown in Syria, Egypt, and Europe before the third century of the Christian era; and thirdly, that the little that is common to the Buddhist and the Christian canonical writings is not such as to justify the belief that the latter borrowed from the former.

Dr. Macdonald first refers to the account of India which was written by Megasthenes; and calls attention to the fact that though Megasthenes describes the religious sects of India he does not mention Buddha or Buddhism. Those who contend that Christianity was influenced by Buddhism do not make much of Megasthenes, whose silence concerning Buddhism favours the opposite contention. They rest their case chiefly on the inscriptions of Asoka, and more particularly on the thirteenth edict of that monarch. In this, Dr. Macdonald maintains, they are seeking to rear a pyramid on its apex. He holds with Professor H. H. Wilson that the edicts of Asoka prove that at the time when they were promulgated Buddhism was not fully established. In none of the fourteen edicts is there any reference to Buddha or Buddhism as such. It is questionable, Dr. Macdonald says, whether Asoka himself was a Buddhist, as the term is now understood. The system of religion found in his inscriptions, the objects of worship, the officials of religion, and the institutions referred to, are foreign to Buddhist books as now known. The only direct reference to Buddha and Buddhism in the hitherto discovered inscriptions of Asoka occurs, not in one of the fourteen edicts, but in a later inscription discovered on the rock of Bairat. But even this inscription does very little to connect the religion of Asoka with that of the canonical books of Buddhism.

Dealing more particularly with the thirteenth edict, Dr. Macdonald refuses to regard it as evidence of the spread of Buddhism to Egypt and Syria. In the first place, he says, it is difficult to make out its meaning. To show how unintelligible it is he prints Mr. Prinsep's translation; and he also adds a translation of M. Senart's French rendering of it. Apart from this, he says, there is no mention in the edict

itself, in any of the various forms in which it is found, of any country outside India. There is a certain word in it which some such as Mr. Prinsep have translated by the word Greek, and others by the word Egyptian ; but the correct rendering of this word, Dr. Macdonald holds, is *Mleccha* or foreign. The edict, in fact, does not seem to specify any place definitely. While it states that the king had pleasure in the success of religion all over his frontiers and indeed all over the world, it does not say clearly what success, if any, religion had actually met with anywhere.

From the edicts of Asoka Dr. Macdonald passes on to deal with the statement, made on the authority of the *Maharansa*, that 30,000 Buddhist priests went from Alexandria in Egypt to Ceylon in the year 167 B. C. He notes in the first place that the *Mahavansa* was written six hundred years after the occurrence of this supposed journey. But ignoring that and other difficulties, he asks, What does the *Mahavansa* actually say ? It says nothing of Egypt or the Egyptians, the Nile, or any country between the Indus and the Nile. It mentions only Yona or Yavana, and Alasadda, the capital of the Yona country. But Yona, the word which occurs in the thirteenth edict of Asoka, does not mean Egypt but simply the country of the *Mlecchas* or casteless tribes to the west of the Indus. And Alasadda was not on the Nile but on the Indus, or at least not further west than the present capital of Afghanistan.

Another argument used to prove the influence of Buddhism on the writers of the New Testament is that Paul speaks of the supposed merit of a man's giving his body to be burned. This is supposed to have reference to a Buddhist who cremated himself in Athens in the days of Caesar Augustus. This man, it is said, was an 'Indian philosopher' and was called *sarmana*. The latter designation, Dr. Macdonald says, decides nothing, for *sarmana* is simply the equivalent of *saniyasi* or ascetic. In the second place a Hindu ascetic would be much more likely to be called a philosopher than a Buddhist monk; and lastly, while a Hindu philosopher might regard suicide as a work of merit, it is unlikely that a Buddhist monk would do so. Dr. Macdonald therefore concludes that the Indian philosopher who burned himself to death at Athens was a Hindu, not a Buddhist. He disposes in a somewhat similar way of the arguments based upon the doctrines of the Essenes of Syria and the Therapeuts of Egypt, and upon the writings of Clement of Alexandria. He maintains that the doctrines which have been supposed to show the influence of Buddhism are in no sense Buddhistic, and that Clement knew practically nothing either of the life and character of Buddha or of the aim and nature of his so-called religion. It was not till after Clement's time that a knowledge of Buddhism spread into Europe. If this be so, what of the supposed influence of Buddhism on the writer of Ecclesiastes ?

Having dealt with the historical evidence, Dr. Macdonald goes on to consider the subject under discussion with reference to the Buddhist and the Christian Scriptures. The first thing he notes is that the Buddhism of the canon and of countries now Buddhistic is not the Buddhism of Asoka. The works named on the Asoka inscriptions are not named in the present canon, which does not in fact seem to have been compiled for several centuries after. And the existing lives of Buddha are all of a very late date. For these reasons it is more probable that the Buddhist Scriptures are indebted to the Christian than the reverse. In regard to the apparent similarities to be found in these Scriptures Dr. Macdonald merely calls attention to the fact that identity of expression is no guarantee for identity of meaning. His verdict on the whole question, or rather, the weakest conclusion which he feels entitled to draw, he gives in the following words of Kuenen: "I think that we may safely affirm that we must abstain from assigning to Buddhism the smallest direct influence on the origin of Christianity."

The Report of the Government Epigraphist for 1893-94 shows that a large amount of work was accomplished in the period under review. A considerable portion of Dr. Hultzsch's time was taken up with the correction of the proof-sheets of the new series of the *Epigraphia Indica.* To make up for last year an attempt is to be made to issue in all eight parts before the end of the present official year ; but in future only four parts will be issued annually. Dr. Hultzsch expresses the hope that the inscriptions of Northern India may be more numerously represented than they have hitherto been. in the *Epigraphia Indica.* Professor Kielhorn, who has made many valuable contributions to its pages, has expressed the desire to be supplied with facsimiles from the north rather than from the south : and in order to retain the services of so eminent a contributor, Dr. Hultzsch suggests that some of the materials collected in the north might be placed at his disposal or sent direct to Professor Kielhorn. Hitherto, with the exception of one series of plates, all materials for the *Epigraphia Indica* have been supplied by Dr. Fleet, Mr. Cousens, and Dr. Hultzsch himself. The present Report states that the printing of Part III. of the second volume of *South-Indian Inscriptions* is well advanced. It also states that Dr. Hultzsch has in contemplation the publication of a Guide to the Seven Pagodas.

The appendices to the Report contain a list of the stone inscriptions copied and a list of photographic negatives prepared in the year under review. Extracts are also given in the Report from the more important inscriptions. On a pillar in the Kunti-Madhava temple at Pithâpuram are three long Sanskrit and Telugu inscriptions which are of some importance historically. They record grants made to the temple in the Saka years 1108, 1117 and 1124, respectively. The information

which they supply is to some extent new, the last one in particular containing statements regarding the Eastern Chalukyas which are not found in other inscriptions. Besides these, several inscriptions of considerable importance were copied in the Kistna and Godavari districts in 1893. From the Tamil districts materials were obtained which are likely to throw some new light on the history of the Cholas and the Pandyas. A considerable number of Pandya inscriptions, many of them with historical introductions, were copied in the Tinnevelly temple. Two of these afford unquestionable evidence of the conquest of Tinnevelly by the Cholas. An inscription of Vikrama-Chola at Tiruvarur, previously noticed by Dr. Hultzsch, has been copied in full; and its date, which contains elements admitting of astronomical calculation, establishes the identity of Vikrama-Chola with the king of the same name referred to in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukyas.

Dr. Hultzsch intends to spend the coming field season in Malabar and Tinnevelly.

We have been favoured by Mr. V. Venkayya with a copy of a paper contributed by him to a recent number of the *Indian Antiquary*. The subject of the paper is the Nallur Grant of Harihara II., which Mr. Venkayya edits from impressions made by the late Sir Walter Elliot. The impressions are four in number, but the original inscription would appear to have been made on three copper plates, two being engraved on one side only, the third on both sides. The alphabet employed in the inscription is Nandinâgari throughout, with the exception of the last line, which is in Kanarese characters. The technical execution of the inscription is far from good. The language is Sanskrit, but, as in other Vijayanagara inscriptions, the end of the document is marked by the name of the god Sri Virupaksha in Kanarese characters.

The inscription mentions Samgama I., the first historical person of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, and his son Bukka I., the father of Harihara II., in whose reign the grant is dated. The exact date of Harihara's accession is not known, but according to Mr. Venkayya he must have ascended the throne between A.D. 1371 and A.D. 1379. His inscriptions have been found at Vijayanagara in the Bellary district, at several places in Mysore, in Dharwar, at two places in the Chingleput district, and even as far south as Srirangam. These localities give some idea of the extent of his dominions. And since, with some doubtful exceptions, the earliest Vijayanagara inscriptions in the south belong to Harihara's reign, it may be concluded that he was the first Vijayanagara king who had possessions in the southern portion of the Madras Presidency. Further, since his earliest inscriptions in the south are dated A.D. 1393, Mr. Venkayya concludes that Harihara's expedition to the south cannot have taken place long before that date. The date of this

king's death is not known. The latest date yet known to be connected with his reign is A.D. 1399, the year in which the present grant was made. Harihara is said to have made numerous gifts to temples, and Mr. Venkayya thinks it not improbable that he actually did this. Inscriptions tell us that he patronised Saivas, Vaishnavas, and Jainas alike; and his reign seems to have been characterised by that spirit of toleration in religious matters which distinguished several of the ancient kings of Southern India. It was during the reign of Harihara II. that the Vijayanagara kingdom became firmly established.

Mr. Sundaram Pillai, the able Professor of Philosophy at the Maharajah's College, Trivandram, has for some years past maintained an establishment for the examination and decipherment of old stone inscriptions in Travancore. In 1892 the Travancore Government assisted him with a grant of nearly Rs. 600, and the expenditure has been abundantly justified by the results. Mr. Sundaram Pillai has collected over one hundred inscriptions, and proposes in a course of popular lectures to impart to the public what may be learned from them. We have before us a copy of the first of these lectures; and if those which are to follow add as much to our knowledge of Travancore history as this has done, Mr. Sundaram Pillai will take his place with the great antiquarians who have laid the foundations of the true history of India. For hitherto nothing has really been known of the sovereigns who ruled over Travancore before 505 M. E. (1330 A. D.). But the inscriptions he has deciphered enable Mr. Sundaram Pillai practically to fill up the list of sovereigns for the fourth century M. E., and to give us the names of three for the fifth century. It is true that so far he has given us little but a list of names with dates, but how valuable this may prove hereafter as the scaffolding by the aid of which the narrative of the events of those two centuries may be built up! The lecture is admirably lucid, the English almost flawless, the style interesting and not devoid of humour. In fact the whole undertaking reflects the highest credit on the lecturer. We shall look forward with interest to the remaining lectures of the series. It is earnestly to be hoped that other native gentlemen will follow the example thus set them, the results of which may surely be regarded as enough to encourage. Mr. Sundaram Pillai emphasizes the necessity of such work being immediately done, and we close with his own words. "Our sources of historical information, both ethnical and epigraphical, seem to be all equally moribund, muttering as it were with their dying gasp, 'Observe now or never.'"

COLLEGE NOTES.

THE College has begun to make a collection of Indian coins. The foundation has been laid by a gift from Mr. L. K. Tulasiramaiyangar, who graduated last year, of a number of specimens, not a few of which are valuable and rare. The donor has moreover promised to add largely to his gift by and by. For what Mr. Tulasiramaiyangar has done already as well as for what he has engaged to do, the Senatus has put its warm thanks on record.

The coins thus in our possession have been placed in a handsome cabinet, made for the purpose, which now stands in the highest room of the College Tower—the room set apart as a place of study for graduates who are looking forward to the M. A. degree. There is room in the cabinet for many times the number of coins which Mr. Tulasiramaiyangar can be expected to present; but I hope that in course of time it will be completely filled. I think I may fitly ask the aid of former students in filling it. It is a way in which many of them can easily give important help. I trust accordingly that hereafter, from time to time, the College will be receiving from all parts of Southern India copper—perhaps also silver—coins which are rendered interesting by their antiquity or by any kind of peculiarity. For reasons which will be obvious enough without my specifying them, we do not wish to place in the cabinet coins of any great intrinsic value; but coins may be obtained in many places by the expenditure of a few annas, or even of a few pies, to which we shall gladly give a local habitation and by which the name of the donor may become familiar to those who frequent the Tower Room in coming years and generations. I hope that the request thus made will be borne in mind by all former students who read these Notes.

THERE is a matter connected with the internal economy of the College in regard to which such former students as reside in the remoter parts of Southern India may give help that will be appreciated.

The room set apart for the Third College or Junior B. A. Class affords seats for 164 students, and for some years admission to the Class was stopped as soon as its roll had reached this number. But in 1893, and again in the present year, the Class was allowed to grow somewhat larger. Suitable candidates were not sent elsewhere until the Class had grown last year to 185 and this year to 186. Accommodation for the larger number has been in these two years provided after a fashion by arranging for the Third Class occupying, during the hours when all its sections are together, the larger room which properly belongs to the Fourth or Senior B. A. Class. Experience has proved, however, that these arrangements have introduced new complexity into the Time Table,

(which was to say the least of it complex enough before), and that the changing from room to room brings inconvenience along with it for which there is no adequate compensation. It has therefore been determined to revert to the old arrangement, so that the Junior B. A. Class will not be allowed henceforward to have more than 164 upon its roll.

The practical outcome of this is that I should like friends in remote districts to do all they can to induce students who wish to get admission into next year's Third Class to take the necessary steps for getting it without a single day's delay after the results of the First Examination in Arts have been made known. Students from such parts form commonly a large proportion of those who come too late and are accordingly shut out. They are also the students whose exclusion, when it occurs, is most to be regretted. It was mainly on their account that the Class was allowed, both last year and this year, to go beyond its former size. Even with that addition to its roll, not a few had to be refused in both years whom one was sincerely sorry to be unable to take in. Next year, when the old number is reverted to, there is some danger that a still greater number of those who come from a distance may be disappointed.

Of course this may not be so. I do not know, and no one can guess as yet, what kind of results will follow the approaching F. A. Examination. If very few should pass, there may be accommodation enough in the old classroom for all who come. But if there be a fair percentage of success it is probable that very many of those anxious to get admission to the Class will be disappointed next year, as has been the case for a long series of years. It will be a grief to me if any large proportion of the disappointment falls on students who come from distant localities. At the same time it is out of our power to reject qualified candidates who come in time in order that we may keep places vacant for those who may never come at all. Undoubtedly students from Canara or Ganjam cannot be expected to come so early as those whose homes are in Chingleput or Nellore; but if there is to be delay, as there sometimes must be, about a student from far away presenting himself *in propriâ personâ*, at least there need be no great loss of time in his doing all that is requisite to make sure that he will be admitted when he comes. A letter of application accompanied by the term-fee, or even by the first instalment of the term-fee, will secure the preservation for a reasonable time of a seat for any student whom the distance of his home or any similar cause prevents from coming so early as is in all other cases desirable.

As I anticipated last month, the Committee in charge of the College Day celebration has published its arrangements; and I suppose that all who have any direct interest in the matter have received such information as they need through other channels. I need not refer further to

the matter here. I may say, however, that I am able now to promise definitely that the renovated Anderson Hall will be available on the 31st of December and will then—probably for the first time—be used for a public, or quasi-public, purpose. The outside of the building will still indeed be somewhat rough and uncouth, and the various additions to it are not likely to be complete for some months to come. But the hall itself will certainly be finished in sufficient time. In fact for practical purposes it may almost be said to be finished now.

THE state of matters with regard to the new Students' Home, (which is intended, as readers of my Notes are aware, for Hindu students who are not Brahmins), can best be shown by reproducing here the Notification which has just been placed upon the College board. It is as follows :—

THE SECOND STUDENTS' HOME.

1. Mr. T. P. S. Nagaruthnam Pillay has been appointed Manager.

2. The Home will be opened at the beginning of next College term.

3. There will be accommodation for 34 members; and when all the rooms have been assigned to members, an additional *associate* may be admitted to each of the six largest rooms.

4. Until some experience has been gained the boarding charge will be Rs. 8 *per mensem.*

5. There will be a subscription from each inmate of 8 as. *per mensem* to the General Fund.

6. The rent of each room has not as yet been finally determined, but it may be stated here that each member who has a room to himself will be charged *about* Rs. 2 *per mensem*, and each member who shares a room with one or more *about* Rs. 1-12 *per mensem*, though the charge may probably be a little more in the case of one or two of the more eligible rooms and a little less in the case of one or two of the less eligible rooms.

7. Any one who wishes to become a member is requested to send his application to the Manager together with the sum of Rs. 2-4; of which 4 as. will be paid as a registration fee for the benefit of the General Fund and Rs. 2 will be treated as an advance on the charges for the first month of residence.

8. Candidates for membership will be allowed to register their names, on payment of the advance stated above, up to the 7th February 1895; immediately after which date rooms will be assigned to those who may by that time have registered their names. The choice of rooms will be given in the order in which candidates have been registered.

9. Admission to membership will be given to the following classes in the following order :—

(*a*) To matriculated students who are at present on the roll of the College and intend to be so next year.

(*b*) To matriculated students who intend to apply for admission to the College at the beginning of 1895.

(*c*) To those who are, or have applied to become, pupils in the School Department of the College, provided they are not less than *sixteen* years of age on the 15th December 1894.

(*d*) To students attending other Colleges, with a preference for those who may be attending the Medical College or the Engineering College.

10. Candidates for membership who belong to classes (*b*), (*c*), or (*d*) may register their names at once. If it should turn out that on the 7th February 1895 all the available accommodation has been applied for by students who come under class (*a*), the whole sum paid by candidates who come under the other classes will of course be returned to them.

11. It is expected that separate boarding accommodation will be provided under the care of Mr. C. Appaswamy Mudelliar for vegetarian students who lodge in the Home. Notice will be given so soon as such accommodation has been actually secured. Should it turn out that arrangements of this kind are not made by the 7th February 1895 the whole sum paid by such as depend on those arrangements will of course be returned to them.

12. It will contribute greatly to the successful working of the Home if candidates for membership will register their names *as soon as possible.*

WILLIAM MILLER.

SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY JOTTINGS.

PROFESSOR KOHLRAUSCH has succeeded at last in obtaining a value for the electric conductivity of water which closely approximates to that which is calculated from theoretical considerations. Taking the conductivity of mercury as the standard, Pouillet assigned to water the value 80×10^{-10}, but in 1875 Kohlrausch reduced this to $0{\cdot}71 \times 10^{-10}$ as the result of removing organic and other impurities from the water tested. In 1884 he obtained a still lower value by taking precautions that the water should be as free as possible from dissolved gases. The value so obtained was $0{\cdot}25 \times 10^{-10}$, or only about a third of that given by water distilled in air. Experiments showed that even this number must be too great, as it altered rapidly with the time owing to the solvent action of water upon glass. One of the pieces of apparatus employed in these experiments has been allowed to stand filled with water during the past ten years, and apparently from long contact with the water the glass has become much less soluble than it is under ordinary circumstances. The result is that the value now obtained with what is practically insoluble glass is $0{\cdot}04 \times 10^{-10}$ at 18°C.

THE electric conductivity of water has, however, been found to vary greatly with the temperature, being $0{\cdot}014 \times 10^{-10}$ at 0°C. and $0{\cdot}18 \times 10^{-10}$ at 50°C. This variation agrees in a most remarkable way with the theory

of Arrhenius and van't Hoff. According to this theory, water is a conductor because some of its molecules are dissociated into the ions H and OH, and its conductivity depends upon the number of dissociated molecules and the velocities with which the ions travel. The extent of the dissociation increases with the temperature just as in the case of a dissociating gaseous system; and the velocities of the ions, which also increase with the temperature, may be calculated for different temperatures from measurements of dilute aqueous solutions such as those of KOH, HCl, and KCl. Kohlrausch finds that the rate at which the conductivity changes with the temperature from —2°C. to 50°C. agrees within the limits of experimental errors with the rate predicted from this theory.

By the method of extrapolation Kohlrausch arrives at the conclusion that the conductivity of absolutely pure water at 18°C. is $0{\cdot}0361 \times 10^{-10}$. The impurity present in the water tested must, therefore, have affected the conductivity by about 10 per cent. If this impurity were of the nature of a salt, as it probably is, the amount which would exert this effect need not be more than a few thousandths of a milligram per litre. Kohlrausch also calculates that the amount of dissociated hydrogen in a cubic metre of water at 18°C. is 0·08 milligram. This number appears small, but it implies thousands of millions of atoms to the cubic mm., *i.e.*, intervals between neighbouring free atoms of hydrogen so small that even in microscopic vision they would appear to fill space continuously.

At a recent meeting of the Academy of Sciences M. Faye gave an account of a waterspout which was observed by Capt. Génot, of the 90th Regiment, during his passage from Jersey to Carteret, at noon on the 11th of August last. This waterspout was first seen at a considerable height; and it was only by degrees in its progress that it approached the surface of the water, thereby confirming M. Faye's theory as to the descending character of atmospheric gyrations.

A brief account is given in *The Athenæum* of Herr F. K. Ginzel's investigations respecting the eclipses mentioned in the Rig-Veda, which have enabled him to determine with considerable probability the approximate dates of some of those compositions. Taking the passages as they are interpreted by Professor Ludwig, he finds that three of the four eclipses referred to were probably the eclipses calculated to have taken place on March 4, 1250 B.C., November 17, 1301 B.C., and May 26, 1386 B.C. The first of these was a total eclipse, and the others were almost total. There is considerable difficulty about the fourth. Professor Ludwig thinks that the available evidence indicates that it

occurred three days before the autumnal equinox, and in the morning. If this is so, Herr Ginzel says that it must have been the annular solar eclipse calculated to have taken place on October 5, 1978 B.C., the central line of which passed over Southern India, from the neighbourhood of Bombay to that of Madras. It is held, however, by Professor Ludwig that this was the last and not the first of the four, which would either involve the giving up of the other identifications and the assigning to these eclipses much earlier dates, or else throw doubt upon the indications of the season at which the fourth took place.

MESSRS. METHUEN AND CO. announce the issue of a new series of 'English Classics', under the general editorship of Mr. W. E. Henley. The first volume of the series, *Tristram Shandy* will be issued immediately. Mr. R. L. Stevenson has undertaken to write an appreciation of Bunyan by way of introduction to the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and Mr. Henley himself is to write the introduction to *The Poems of Robert Burns.* The same publishers announce *Ballads* by Rudyard Kipling; *English Lyrics*, selected and edited by W. E. Henley; a new edition of *Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, edited by J. B. Bury; and *A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Hyksos*, by Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie.

MR. A. H. KEANE gives in a recent number of the *Academy* an account of an interesting new theory as to the peopling of America that has been suggested by Professor Otis T. Mason of the Smithsonian Institute. Water, it is argued, yields the easiest food and means of transport, as well as the materials of all the earliest arts and industries. Hence coastlands and especially estuaries teeming with animal life first attracted human settlers. On this ground the estuary of the Columbia River has been suggested as the starting point for tribal dispersions over the Continent of North America. Now Professor Mason argues that this point may have been reached at a very remote period by settlers from Indo-Malaysia sailing along the eastern coast of Asia, and the north-western coast of America. When we look at the map of the route suggested we see that its track lies through a succession of almost enclosed seas, so that there would be no impossibility even for men provided with such rude boats as these primitive sailors possessed to coast along from Asia to America. The existence of this great prehistoric highway is, it is maintained, indicated by ethnical and linguistic affinities along the line of primæval traffic, that can hardly be explained otherwise than by actual contact. It is curious, in the face of Professor Mason's statement, that at the meeting of the International Congress of Anthropology in Chicago the President, Dr. Brinton, in a paper he read denied the alleged similarity and the supposed relations between the American and Asiatic races.

MAX O'RELL's new book, *John Bull and Co.*, deals with "the great colonial branches of the firm," Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. India, though not included here, is not, however, to be left undescribed. It is reserved for another volume. We shall probably therefore soon have M. Paul Blouet in our midst lecturing and accumulating information for his new romance. When one remembers the quaint results produced by the combination of Indian facts with the mind of such an unimaginative person as the ordinary globe-trotter and at the same time recalls Max O'Rell's powers of fancy as revealed in his well known works, one feels that the Max O'Rellian view of India will be altogether precious, and perhaps not more misleading than Sir Edwin Arnold's. From *John Bull and Co.* we learn that the inhabitants of British India hold the faith of Buddha, which seems to indicate that the writer, when he comes to consider the religions of this land, will do so with a mind unbiassed by previous study.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE first place in the *Contemporary Review* for November is given to a conversation with Sir Thomas Wade on the Chino-Japanese conflict and its probable results. Sir Thomas has evidently a friendly feeling for China, but he knows her weakness and he is by no means sanguine that in the present contest with Japan she will ultimately hold her own. The issue of the conflict is not a question of numbers, but of science. The Manchus, who conquered China last, were fewer in number than the Japanese. The military organisation of China is 250 years old; and incompetence and confusion prevail throughout her army. It is true, foreign factories have recently been built and modern weapons of precision manufactured, but these things are foreign to Chinese ideas and are not in favour with the majority. Besides, these weapons are of no use without European drill for the men who use them, and as yet the Chinese Government has only very sparingly adopted European instruction. China has not been without warnings that she ought to set her house in order, but she has paid little heed to them. If she had time, Sir Thomas Wade thinks, she could bring her strength to bear, but that is just what the Japanese seem determined to prevent her from having. And by striking at Manchuria the home of the reigning dynasty, they have taken the step most likely to further their purposes. The reason of this, Sir Thomas Wade says, has not yet been fully appreciated by the English press. It might be said that China has changed her dynasty many times ere now and still remained a national unit, and that the end in the present conflict will be but a change of Government. Sir Thomas Wade is strongly of opinion that if the Japanese win, the end will be something very different. If the Japanese had conquered China fifty years ago such an outcome would have been possible. Japan might then have supplied the new dynasty and continued the tradition of Chinese ideas. But now that the Japanese have shown themselves ardent converts to the civilisation of the West, there is a strong barrier fixed between Japan and China. If the present dynasty is overthrown, the result may be an explosion that will shake the whole world.

Sir Thomas Wade lays great stress on the attempt of the Japanese to occupy Manchuria and seize Mukden. If China were merely invaded from the south, he says, the emperor could always retire into his own province with some show of dig

nity. But if he were forced to fly for his life towards the south, the result would probably be disastrous. For in China the authority of the emperor is largely bound up with his invulnerability. And once the central authority is gone, there will be nothing but disorder throughout the Empire. China will present much the same phenomena as India did before the British conquest—the phenomena of warring princelings and usurpers, none of them strong enough to obtain the supreme power. This of course cannot be the end, for it is impossible that all the Western Powers should leave the country to anarchy. If Japan is victorious, Russia will very soon intervene on the north, and very probably France will do the same on the south. America, England, and Germany, too, will be sure to have something to say in the matter. Sir Thomas Wade holds that Japan will come off badly whether she wins or loses. In any case she is not likely to be allowed to have the final disposal of affairs in China.

Sir Thomas Wade has a good deal to say of the inconsistencies of the Chinese character and the reasons for China's present unpreparedness for war. He does not spare the faults of the people; but he thinks they are possessed of many splendid qualities, and he would very much grieve to see the nation broken up or destroyed. Of Mr. Pearson's prophecy he says that it is altogether premature.

In 'The Destruction of the Board School' Dr. John Clifford deals with a very important question that has come rapidly to the front in England. This is the question of religious instruction in Board schools. Dr. Clifford writes particularly with reference to London schools and in view of the election of a new School Board for the metropolis; but since, as he says, the London School Board system has been accepted as a model and its regulations for religious teaching welcomed as a guide, and since sectarianism is unfortunately not confined to London, his article may be taken as dealing with a subject that concerns the whole of England. Further, Dr. Clifford is led into a discussion of the general question as to the function of religious instruction in the education of children; so that the article possesses an interest apart altogether from the circumstances that have called it forth. The question at issue is a very important one. Ostensibly, says Dr. Clifford, the subject of controversy is the teaching of the principles of the Christian religion and morals to children: in reality it is the continued existence of the national system of education initiated in 1870 that is at stake. In settling the nature of the religious instruction to be given in Board schools those who took part in organising that system of education had a difficult problem to deal with; but they settled it in a way which seems to have worked well for twenty years. Their solution of the difficulty was in the form of a compromise, and until three years ago hardly a voice was raised against it. But since then the cry has gone forth for 'definite Christian teaching'; and a conflict has begun involving issues of a very momentous character. For 'definite Christian teaching' means instruction in the doctrines of the High Church and the substitution of what men have thought of the Bible for the Bible itself as the basis of religious instruction. From an educational point of view, as Dr. Clifford very forcibly shows, this would be a terrible calamity; and it is very much to be hoped that sectarianism will not be allowed to have its way.

THE author of *Fo'c'sle Yarns* contributes an article on Mr. Hall Caine's recent novel—*The Manxman.* He evidently looks upon this work as a very accurate picture of Manx life and character. Mr. Hall Caine is Manx on his father's side; and he has lived a year in the Isle of Man, with the result which might have been expected.

"So sympathetic a nature, with its Manx aptness, its capacity of giving pledges to the happy and communicative people with whom he associates upon such intimate terms, has ensured a fidelity to local conditions, a felicity of local colour, which have never yet been attained by any Manxman, nor, perhaps, by any artist dealing with a social life

however special or familiar. In fact the only objection which we can imagine being made is to the excessive richness of the work in this particular. Mr. Caine has omitted no trait, has spared no detail. There is not a Manx proverb, a Manx anecdote, a Manx jest, a Manx situation, which will not be found in *The Manxman.* All Manx men are in it, all Manx women. It sweeps like a trawl-net the bottom of the Manx waters, and gathers within its meshes every living creature that inhabits the depths which are so fertile and so unexplored. One cannot help asking whether Mr. Caine has not exhausted the ground. Is it possible that he can ever return to it, and dredge after himself? His attack has been so omnivorous that we doubt whether it can be repeated. 'Voracity' is the only word by which we attempt to describe the keenness, the energy, the appetite, and the completeness with which the Manx novelist has revelled in the banquet. This is the secret of his strength and of his success--a vigorous, healthy gourmand set down to his own table. He has discovered his *patria*, the natural feeding ground of his imagination, and the true, unquestionable realism."

Mr. Brown asks the question, Is Mr. Caine a Manx Zola, but only to answer it with an emphatic negative. Mr. Caine, he says, loves his Manxmen; if Zola loves his Frenchmen he has a peculiar way of showing it.

Mr. J. Rendel Harris writes a very interesting article on 'The New Syriac Gospels'. With the assistance of photography Mrs. Lewis and those who have aided her have been able to recover the greater part of the four Gospels from the faded writing in which they appear; and the result is a transcript of the Gospels in Syriac, dating from a very early period, say the fifth century, and representing not unfaithfully a translation which must have been made far back in the second century. Examination shows that the new version is closely connected with the Syriac version of which portions were published by Cureton in 1859 and which is called after his name. Mr. Rendel Harris says there is not the least doubt that as far as Syriac Gospels are concerned a text has been recovered superior in antiquity to anything yet known, and one that often agrees with all that is most ancient in Greek MSS.; "a text which the advanced critics will at once acknowledge to be, after allowance has been made for a few serious blemishes, superior in purity to all extant copies, with a very few exceptions; and, at the same time, a text which, by its dogmatic tendencies, will arouse the interest of theologians of every school of thought." A striking feature of the text is the number of its omissions and the almost entire absence of such passages as are generally held to be interpolations. But the most original feature of it, and what in Mr. Rendel Harris's opinion is perhaps the most archaic of its peculiarities, is the suggestion in its first page of another version of the birth of Jesus, by readings which definitely assign his paternity to Joseph, the husband of Mary. Here the text shows very decided divergencies from all other known texts; and whether in any of these details it has preserved the primitive form of the Gospel or whether it exhibits a depravation of that first form, its tradition is in every respect venerable. In either case, therefore, it gives us glimpses not merely of early variations in the text, but of conflicting opinions regarding the nativity of Christ such as are known to have existed in the second century.

Mr. Rendel Harris proceeds to show in the first place that the above divergence from hitherto known texts is not an isolated phenomenon in the Sinai Codex, but that it is one of a series of readings, all betraying a similar tendency, and probably the same hand. He next shows that the type of text represented in the new Codex is not an isolated phenomenon among the MSS. of the New Testament. And lastly he shows that this fluctuation in the text of the Gospels of the Nativity corresponds to a historically attested divergence in the opinions of the early Christian Church. In conclusion he deals briefly with the relation of the new readings to the archetype of Matthew and with the question of their validity as against the Greek. His verdict is against the variants of the Sinai Codex. The writer who has come to

our knowledge in these is not the original composer of the text, but some later person, very near in date to the first hand, who has attempted to make the story of the Nativity non-miraculous by a series of inadequate incisions and excisions in an already existing text.

Colonel A. G. Durand gives a very interesting account of the Eastern Hindu Kush, or rather of the country to the south of the Eastern Hindu Kush. To this region the name of Dardistan has been applied, but the title, says Colonel Durand, is a very misleading one. There is no such country as Dardistan, and there is no one united race to which the name of Dard could be applied. The region which Colonel Durand describes is some 200 miles in breadth by 150 miles in depth, and may be roughly divided into two main drainage areas—that of the Chitral river and that of the Gilgit river. Five years ago there was not a yard of road in the whole region, and but one permanent bridge, that over the Chitral river at Chitral itself. Now a good mountain road is complete to Gilgit, the Indus is bridged at Bunji, and a passable road leads to Chilas. The scenery seems to be of the grandest description; and this it is not difficult to understand, seeing that within seventy miles there are eight mountains with an elevation of from 24,000 to 26,000 feet. Rakapushi, for instance, rises direct out of the Hunza Valley in one magnificent sweep of 18,000 feet. And if the country is interesting, so, too, are the people. With some exceptions they are naturally peaceable. They have none of the fiery dash of the Pathan, but they are stubborn and gallant foes when entrenched. They bear but little malice, and they appreciate fair play. They are as a rule cheery and pleasant: and only in Chilas does one find scowling faces and a semi-Pathan inclination to murder. They have had bloodthirsty rulers, but this seems to be the fate of all semi-savage Muhammadan States. Their superstitions and religious beliefs are of a very primitive kind. Buddhism has left its mark in the country, and the Buddhist remains in Gilgit show that a higher civilisation than that which now prevails must have at one time existed there. Cultivation is largely dependent on irrigation, and is at present in a very backward state; but now that the country is free from liability to constant war it may be hoped that the necessary irrigation works will be undertaken with success.

Professor Andrew Seth contributes an important philosophical article, in the form of a review and criticism of Mr. Bradley's *Appearance and Reality*, which was published last year. This, in Professor Seth's opinion, is the most important metaphysical work which has appeared in England since the publication of Green's *Introduction to Hume* in 1874. The first part of it is largely in the manner of Hegel, whose influence is predominant throughout; but a marked feature of the book is its independence both of treatment and of style. It is an indication that English writers do not intend to remain in perpetual tutelage to German masters, and that Germany no longer possesses the hegemony of Europe in matters philosophical. Professor Seth enters into an elaborate criticism of Mr. Bradley's work, and his article will be sure to commend itself to those who take a special interest in philosophy. He finds two conflicting tendencies of thought which seem to strive for mastery in Mr. Bradley's mind. These he proposes to examine more closely in a second article, in which he will indicate the significance which the book appears to possess at the present time.

Mr. A. F. Leach writes on 'School Supply in the Middle Ages', and Mr. William Larminie on 'The Development of English Metres'. Two articles on the government of London complete the number.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for November is an unusually good number. It opens with the second part of Sir Evelyn Wood's paper on 'The Crimea in 1854, and 1894'. In this part the writer seeks to draw a contrast between the training of the British troops as exhibited in the Crimea in 1854 with that which they now receive. Some of the incidents mentioned show

that while the soldiers of all ranks and of all branches of the service up to 1854 were drilled sufficiently to gain the praise of any inspecting martinet, yet the course of instruction through which they went fitted them rather for a review on the parade ground than for a conflict with an enemy differently prepared. Each man was drilled in a system that when acquired made him simply a military automaton, and deprived him of all powers of self-reliance or adaptability to the changing scenes of a battlefield. Wherever he was, whatever he had to encounter, he could do it only in the same routine manner. In a graphic account of the charge of the heavy cavalry brigade Sir Evelyn Wood says :—

"By the time that the three leading squadrons of Scarlett's command had again wheeled into line, the Russians, advancing at a walk, had lessened the intervening space, which, at the moment Scarlett moved forward was about 400 yards. Both the Divisional general and Scarlett had become very impatient to get the three squadrons in motion before the Russians should increase their pace. The advance was sounded repeatedly, but it was difficult to induce the commanding officers to move until the line had been accurately *dressed* with markers out in front."

The picture of the commanding officers taking such care to *dress* their regiment in the face of an enemy only 400 yards off and advancing is highly characteristic of the military ideas held at the time. The unbroken, perfectly straight line was intended to keep the enemy from breaking through. This was the chief thing to be aimed at; but the officers learned when the crash came in the charge that the victory lay, not in *resistance* but in cutting through the enemy: that it was not the soldiers standing shoulder to shoulder, but it was each man doing his best at each moment supported or unsupported, that overcame and scattered the enemy.

As were the officers so were the men. "A doctor, dressing a wound in one of our men's head, asked, "And how came you to get this ugly cut?" The trooper replied with much warmth, "I had just cut 5 at a Russian and the damned fool never guarded at all but hit me over the head." Tommy Atkins had been so drilled that the cut of the Russian was not only unexpected but contrary to the rules laid down in the drill book. He had to learn in this severely striking manner to use his eyes and common sense in the field, and to break himself free from the shackles of the routine of the drill ground of those days.

With all this Sir Evelyn Wood contrasts what he saw in 1894 on the Berkshire Downs. He says:—"I saw at our manœuvres a Regiment cross the front of a hostile brigade at a gallop, and, having gained the flank, wheel into line without checking the pace, and advance to the attack." Yet in spite of the defective training officers and men had got for the work to be done in the Crimea Sir Evelyn comments most favourably on the spirit and courage of the men of all ranks. He gives several instances of decided coolness and bravery under trying circumstances, as for example, the following. Mr. Hewett, of H. M. S. *Beagle*, ordered by an officer at some distance in the rear to spike his gun and retire before an advancing force, refused to do so, and putting the muzzle of his gun in the direction of the foe and close to a portion of the side of the embrasure he fired it, and "a mass of earth, stones, and gabions was driven by the projectile and 16lbs. of powder into the faces of the victory shouting Russians, who, struck by this wide-spreading extemporised shell, fell back discomfited." Other instances are given which it is hard to refrain from quoting. We close this *résumé* with a sentence which contains two statements bearing on the two points clearly proved in this most interesting paper. "Our men can manœuvre quicker, they understand 'detached duties' better than formerly, but no cavalry in the world can ever surpass their predecessors in that astonishing courage and self-confidence which carried 300 men hurtling into the midst of 3000."

Professor A. W. Rücker contributes a valuable though short sketch of the life and scientific researches of the distinguished physicist, the late

Professor Helmholtz. He thus summarises the most important of Helmholtz's scientific achievements:—

"He was one of the first to grasp the principle of the Conservation of Energy. He struck independently, and at a critical moment a powerful blow in its defence. He penetrated further than any before him into the mystery of the mechanism which connects us with external nature through the eye and the ear. He discovered the fundamental properties of vortex motion in a perfect liquid which have since not only been applied in the explanation of all sorts of physical phenomena, of ripple marks in the sand and of cirrus clouds in the air, but have been the basis of some of the most advanced and pregnant speculations as to the constitution of matter and of the luminiferous ether itself."

Sir Robert Ball tries to bring up to date the discussion on the possibility of life in other worlds. He gives a brief *résumé* of previous arguments, and then adds a contribution from more recent researches. The older arguments in favour of the supposition that life is to be found in some of the stars may be thus briefly put:—"In the planetary system the earth holds an intermediate place in position, in size, and in respect to its satellites and mass. It also has an atmosphere which compared with the atmosphere of other planets is of medium density." "It therefore does not appear to be marked out in any specially distinctive manner which would qualify it rather than certain of the other globes for becoming suitable abodes of life." "If the earth was inhabited, it would seem only reasonable to assume that in this respect also it was not exceptional, and that in all probability the other globes, some of them, or many of them, were also fitted for the abode of life, suitably adapted to the conditions which each globe had to offer." To this old argument there may now be added from the results of recent scientific research the following facts. The spectroscope has revealed that the material constituents of the earth are in a great measure identical with the materials constituting the sun. But although the planets are not incandescent and therefore do not give off glowing vapours from their component materials, yet "there is no reason to think that the elements of which the planets are composed differ considerably from the elements of which the earth is made." The spectroscope has also made known the fact that *hydrogen*, which is one of the elements of water, is abundantly diffused through the universe. It is a part of the invisible atmosphere that surrounds the sun and several of the stars, and even in the dim and distant nebulæ gaseous hydrogen is the constituent more easily recognised than any other which they may possess. *Carbon*, an essential factor of organic substances, has been demonstrated to exist in other parts of the solar system; even in the comets. *Sodium*, the chief element of common salt, and *iron* are also known to exist. To this may be added that the internal heat of Mars, Venus, and Mercury is very similar in intensity to that of our earth; and although they are at such varied distances from the sun that the amount of heat which they obtain will differ considerably, yet the density of the atmosphere around each differs from ours, and this along with an appropriate land distribution, may, when operating together, have such an effect on the climate of each that certain organic types may be common to all the four globes. There is also the possibility that water is found in Mars and Venus.

On the other side it should be stated that the temperature of some of the larger planets such as Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, and Neptune, is probably so high as to render it impossible that they are at present abodes of life in any sense which is comprehensible to us; even though the atmosphere of Jupiter is known to sustain clouds that contain water. There is also the very important fact that "a widely extended distribution of oxygen has not been demonstrated in the same emphatic way as has the existence of the other elements referred to." This may, however, be attributable not so much to the actual absence of that element from other bodies as to the unsuitability of the means at our disposal for detecting its presence upon them.

Mr. R. S. Gundry writes on 'Corea,

China, and Japan', and Mr. A. H. Savage-Landor on 'Burning Questions of Japan'. Other articles are 'The Heart of Life', by Mr. W. H. Mallock, 'Women's Newspapers', 'Rambles in Norsk Finmarken', 'A Note on Wordsworth', and 'Symmetry and Incident'.

THE *Nineteenth Century* for November is a fair average number, with nothing of very striking merit or interest. Dr. Felix Boh takes a very encouraging view of the relations between England and Germany. There is a useful table of the various parliaments of the world, by Mr. J. T. Kay, as well as a rather weak and rambling discourse on babies and monkeys by Mr. S. S. Buckman.

The Duke of Argyll discourses on Christian Socialism. In this His Grace points out that the most powerful method of reform is to "plant alongside of any false and corrupt belief, or any vicious and cruel custom, however strong and however deeply rooted these may be, some one incompatible idea. Then, without the noise of controversy or the clash of battle, those beliefs and customs will wane and die." The Duke attributes the foundation of the family to Christianity. This is hardly what is currently believed to be the fact. He points out that Christianity inculcates not only almsgiving but *consideration* of and for the poor. He enforces the righteousness of secular authority even when that authority may seem to be opposed to Christian conviction. Yet he desires "to urge upon all Christians, not only their perfect freedom, but their absolute duty, to study whatever can be discovered of those natural laws which do undoubtedly exist in the very nature of man and of society, and to have perfect faith in the doctrine that the ascertainment of truths of this kind is one of the very highest obligations imposed upon us by that religion whose glorious claim it is—not only that it is true but—that its 'law is the truth.'"

Mr. H. D. Macleod has a very able article setting forth the perfect sanity of the monometalist faith. There is nothing very novel about his arguments, but they are set forth in a clear convincing way, which commends itself to the ordinary unprejudiced mind, though it is to be feared that the bimetalist is above conviction. The essence of Mr. Macleod's paper consists in the statement and reiteration of Gresham's law. He shews clearly the operation of this law in history, and demonstrates the impracticability of a double standard. "If, for example," he says, "merchants received an order for so many yards of cloth, and the law allowed two different yard measures to be used, one of three feet and one of two feet, merchants would naturally fulfil their orders in yards of two feet rather than in yards of three feet. It is only natural that persons should pay their debts in the cheapest form to themselves." The paper may well be commended to the attention of Indian readers, that they may judge for themselves which is the friend the Codlin of bimetalism or the Short of monometalism.

Mr. Demetrius Boulger writes on the 'Corean Crux', shewing that the popular idea that China is played out is a mistake, and that Japan has by no means so much of the upper hand as is commonly supposed. *Audi alteram partem* is a sound motto, and Mr. Boulger's paper may well be read by those who desire to arrive at an impartial estimate of the state of affairs in the Far East. It will awaken their minds to the dangers of an Anglo-Japanese alliance.

Mr. Fitch points out in a very able article the danger and the difficulty of introducing religious teaching of a sectarian character into English Board schools. The subject is a very sore one in England just now, and the party in the London School Board which is headed by Mr. Diggle is making very vigorous efforts to enforce its ideas on the Board. Mr. Fitch's unique experience of English elementary education enables him to write with much authority, and his views seem certainly eminently reasonable. The article does not appeal to Indian readers except as shewing how difficult it is to maintain a compromise in these matters.